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CHANGING PATTERNS IN GHANA'S EDUCATION, 1919-1966  
(A SURVEY OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GHANA'S EDUCATION)

by

CHARLES DOMPREH



A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled Changing Patterns in Ghana's Education, 1919-1966 (A Survey of Political, Social and Economic Factors in the Development of Ghana's Education) submitted by CHARLES DOMPREH in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.



## ABSTRACT

Ghana, previously called the Gold Coast, was a British Colony from 1821 to 1957. The aim of the British Colonial Government with regard to education in Ghana, as in other British Colonies, was mainly to provide clerks and minor civil servants to help with the administration. Such a policy justified the opening of only a few Government schools. Most of the schools in the country were established and operated by religious organizations whose chief aim was to use the schools as means of attracting and evangelizing the natives.

Therefore, In either case, there was no comprehensive national program of education aimed at the maximum development of the country's resources. Nor was the education provided specifically related to the needs and circumstances of the country. However, Governor Guggisberg's enlightened attitude toward education had far-reaching effects and in some ways he may be regarded as having laid the foundation for Ghana's education today.

With the gradual transfer of political autonomy to the African leaders between 1948 and 1957 the pace of educational development was considerably accelerated. The Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) Government of Kwame Nkrumah endeavoured to overhaul the educational system and relate it more effectively to the needs of the emerging nation.

The period from 1962 to 1966 saw the educational system under the control of Nkrumah's political machinery. A significant function





of the C.P.P. during this period was the promotion of Nkrumah's personality cult and the supremacy of his party. The Party spread its influence throughout the educational system which came to be an important organ for the promotion of Nkrumah's personal rule.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The initial motivation to undertake this study came from Dr. B. E. Walker who encouraged me to use the insights I had gained in my various courses of study to examine some aspects of education in my home country, Ghana. My thanks are due to him for the insights I derived from a conference course on the development of education in the emerging nations of Africa, arranged for me during the summer of 1967. He also gave me assistance both as to the format and content of the thesis.

Before the beginning of the study I had useful ideas on British education in Africa from Dr. R. S. Patterson to whom I am grateful. Professor D. R. Pugh, who had personal knowledge of educational problems in West Africa, read through the first draft of the thesis and made a number of criticisms. Some of his recommendations have been usefully incorporated in this final version and I am grateful to him.

My thanks are also due to the University of Alberta Department of Inter-Library Loans which succeeded in procuring for me a large percentage of the material required for the study. I was impressed with the promptitude with which the material came in from several places in the U.S.A. and Canada. I would particularly like to express my thanks to the following institutions which supplied most of the material through





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## INTRODUCTION

Aims and Scope of the Study. During the forty-seven year period from 1919 to 1966, significant changes took place in the development of education in Ghana. These changes are related to (1) the policy of the British Colonial Government which ended in 1957, (2) the rise of nationalism which ushered the country into political independence, (3) the attempt by the leaders of the new state to develop the country at an accelerated pace and (4) the control of the educational system by the political machinery of President Nkrumah from 1962 to 1966. The aim of the study is to survey the patterns in Ghana's education as they changed from one historical period to another, showing their relationships with political, social and economic factors.

Reason for the Study. Some studies have been made of Ghana's educational system, but to the best of the writer's knowledge no sufficient attempt has been made to portray the educational development in relation to political, social and economic factors which significantly shaped the educational system. Most of the studies are largely chronological in approach and lack the focus necessary to show the relationship of education to the various cultural factors. This study attempts to provide such focus. It also brings the story of Ghana's educational development up to date, that is, up to 1966.

Three main patterns appear to be characteristic of educational development in Ghana, namely:



1. The Colonial Pattern, characteristic of the colonial regime from the nineteenth century up to 1951.

2. The Independence Pattern, typifying the period from 1951 to 1961. (Ghana became politically independent in 1957. However, the transitional period from 1951 to 1957 has been included under this section since the Government, at this time, was almost completely in the hands of African natives).

3. The Nkrumaist Pattern, characteristic of the period between 1962 and 1966.

In this study the period from 1919 to 1966 is selected because it embodies the three patterns noted above. The year 1919 marks the beginning of Sir Gordon Guggisberg's governorship which brought significant reforms in the country's education. The period 1919 to 1951 marks the end of full British colonial rule in the Gold Coast. The period 1962 to 1966 stands distinctively apart in view of the political control to which the whole educational system was subjected under President Nkrumah's totalitarian regime.

Method of Treatment. The method employed in this study is mainly historical. A detailed examination of the relevant cultural factors is given at the beginning of each chapter to elucidate the pattern of education being examined. Then an account of the educational system is given, showing its relationship to relevant cultural factors and the problems involved. In Chapter III, emphasis is placed on the influence of politics on the educational system. Some general information about some aspects of Ghana's education is given in the appendices.





Sources of Data for the Study. In the conduct of the study, several different sources of material have been consulted:

1. Library Sources -- The University of Alberta Library has a fairly large stock of material on Africa. It has also a small collection on Ghana. Similarly, the Edmonton Public Library has some material on Africa and Ghana. Material which was not available in these two places was procured through the Inter-Library Loans Department of the University of Alberta which sometimes brought in material from as far afield as Chicago, New York, Boston, Ottawa and Detroit.

2. Unpublished Sources -- A number of theses on Ghana's education, written by natives and non-natives has been consulted. The different points of view expressed in these works have helped to increase the writer's understanding of the subject. The unpublished sources consulted appear in the bibliography at the end of this study. Of them all the one which the writer has found very useful is McElligott's Education in the Gold Coast Colony, 1920-1949, a Ph.D. thesis presented to Stanford University in 1950.

3. Contact Sources -- As a Ghanaian citizen national with considerable experience in the Ghana Teaching Service, the writer has had the opportunity of experiencing most of the situations depicted in the study. It has been possible for him to discuss some of Ghana's educational problems with his colleagues and also with other persons connected with the control and administration of education in the country.





## DEFINITION OF TERMS

To avoid confusion or misunderstanding, two key terms in the thesis title - namely, education and patterns - which may be understood differently in different contexts, are here defined:

1. Education refers to Western education and formal schools, set curricula, school buildings and graduations of students. The education of illiterate adults, as seen in mass literacy campaigns, is excluded.

2. Pattern refers to a particular form or development which characterizes the educational system as a result of the influence of a prevalent political philosophy or peculiar economic and social factors.



## CHAPTER I

### THE COLONIAL PATTERN, 1919-1951

#### Cultural Background: Political, Social, Economic

Political: The former British colony of the Gold Coast came to be called Ghana on March 6, 1957, when it became an independent sovereign state.

Before the nineteenth century, the British Government had no direct dealings with the Gold Coast. From early Stuart times a succession of companies had a monopoly of British trade with the coast; in return for this they maintained the forts which were necessary for the security of the trade. The most prominent of the companies, the Royal African Company, was replaced in 1750 by the Company of Merchants trading to Africa. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa was not itself a trading corporation but rather a device for maintaining the forts and factories by means of a Parliamentary grant instead of a trading monopoly. Several European merchants traded in slaves along the coast of West Africa.

The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 had a significant effect on the political future of the Gold Coast. The abolition of the trade resulted in the loss of profits to the Company, which was obliged to apply to the British Government for an increased grant to maintain the forts along the coast. Since the British Government had no further use for the forts, it might well have refused to consider the request.





However, the abolitionists rather wished to see British influence extended "to promote the civilization of Africa, particularly by fostering new branches of 'legitimate' and less harmful trade."<sup>1</sup>

Zachary Macaulay, Governor of Sierra Leone (1793-1799), in a letter to Robert Stewart, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (July, 1805 to January, 1806 and March 1807 to September, 1809), wrote the following about the forts along the coast of Africa:

With a view both to the British interests in Africa, and to the improvement of Africa itself it appears to deserve consideration whether these Establishments, as well as any other which may hereafter be formed in Africa, should not be taken under the immediate government of His Majesty, otherwise it is not likely that any uniform plan of policy can be pursued with respect to that country, nor any liberal and concurrent<sup>2</sup> efforts made to amend the condition of its inhabitants.

The British Government, in response to the suggestions of Macaulay and the abolitionists, appointed a commission of inquiry to collect information about the potentialities of the trading centres along the West African coast. The commission was of the opinion that the British Government should take over sole control of the Gold Coast forts, but Britain took no action in this respect until 1821.

In 1821 the African Company was abolished by an Act of Parliament, and the forts, possessions and property belonging to the Company were

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<sup>1</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, Great Britain and Ghana; Documents of Ghana History, 1807-1957; London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1964, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5.





transferred to and vested in the British Government. British colonial administration in the Gold Coast may therefore be taken as having begun in 1821.

Typically, British Colonial Government in the Gold Coast was constituted on the analogy of the British Government in England. As Lord Lugard put it, "The Governor represents the King, but combines the functions of the Prime Minister as head of the Executive."<sup>3</sup> There were two councils: the Legislative and Executive.

The Governor was the key figure in the Government. He generally conformed to the policies laid down by the Colonial Office in London. However, he was the "Man on the Spot"<sup>4</sup> who represented the King and was held responsible by the nation. He had very wide powers. As Sir Hugh Clifford put it,

.....our system of government in these colonies is of a kind that enables us, in the last resort, to take any legislative action that may appear to us to be expedient,<sup>5</sup> no matter how strong may be the local opposition thereto.

The Governor could nominate the members of the Legislative Council, although as time went on, elective representation became more and more evident.

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<sup>3</sup> Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, fifth edition, London: William Blackwood, 1965, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 559.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



The following shows the composition of the Executive Council in 1915:<sup>6</sup>

- Governor (President)
- Colonial Secretary
- Attorney General
- Treasurer
- Principal Medical Officer.

During the same period the Legislative Council was constituted by nine members as follows:

- Governor (President)
- Colonial Secretary
- Attorney General
- Treasurer
- Principal Medical Officer

Four nominated unofficial members, namely:

- One European representing the mercantile community
- One European representing the mining industry
- One native representing the educated classes
- One chief representing the chiefs and people of the colony.

With time, the intelligentsia came to resent this situation and called for elected representation to the Councils. By the constitution of 1925, the Government granted a few concessions and enlarged the membership of the Legislative Council to thirty as follows:<sup>7</sup>

- Governor (President)
- 15 Official members
- 14 Unofficial members, made up of the following:

- 6 African Provincial members
- 3 African Municipal members
- 5 African Unofficial members

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 552-553.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 602-604.



Despite the increase in total membership, it can be seen that it was still weighted in favour of the sixteen official European members and therefore unsatisfactory to the native intelligentsia.

In addition to the central government thus outlined, there was the local government which apart from the municipalities, was in the hands of chiefs assisted by councils of elders. Ward states:

For many years, the British authorities in the Gold Coast were unable to bring about a clear separation between local and central government. Local government institutions already existed; there were the traditional<sup>8</sup> tribal authorities, the chiefs and their state councils.

In fact, since 1878, the Gold Coast Government had passed a number of Native Jurisdiction Ordinances to regulate the position and the powers of the native authorities.

The principle of ruling through the chiefs was favoured by the Government. This is the principle of indirect rule under which the tutelary power recognizes the existing African societies and is willing to help them adapt themselves to the duties and obligations of local government. The Government kept trying to adapt Lord Lugard's Nigerian model of indirect rule to Gold Coast conditions. According to Ward:

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<sup>8</sup>W.E.F. Ward, A History of Ghana, revised third edition, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966, p. 351.





Lord Lugard intended the system to imply two types of effort. One was to maintain the traditional system and prevent it from being weakened by the disintegrating forces of Western life; the other was to educate the chiefs and their councils to carry out new functions. The Gold Coast Government made a valiant effort to maintain the traditional system, and met with a fair amount of success. But it made hardly any progress until its very last years in developing the tribal authorities into modern local government bodies.<sup>9</sup>

The Native Jurisdiction Ordinances provided that a paramount chief, with the assent of his councillors, might make by-laws subject to the Governor's approval. The chiefs (paramount and minor alike) were empowered by the Government to establish tribunals whose jurisdiction was laid down by law. At these tribunals, the chiefs could hear certain civil and testamentary cases as well as all cases dealing with land tenure, native custom and breaches of the state's by-laws.

Many of the intelligentsia were critical of the system of indirect rule and the inefficiency of native institutions. For one thing, "the central government did not have sufficient control over the local authorities, with the result that a unified and efficient system did not result."<sup>10</sup> The intelligentsia felt that a Western type of Government should be adopted immediately in the country and the franchise given to the general population. The great weight given to rural representation on the Legislative Council did not meet with their approval.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 351.

<sup>10</sup> Theresa Elizabeth McElligott, "Education in the Gold Coast Colony 1920-1949," Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University, January, 1950, p. 20.





In 1920, a delegation of the National Congress of British West Africa, including three Gold Coast members<sup>11</sup>, visited London and presented a petition to the British Government. The petition stated among other things:

The members of the Executive Councils are all Government officials who also, together with members nominated by the governors, compose the Legislative Councils. As such the nominated members do not really represent the people, and they are not directly in touch with them....<sup>12</sup>

The delegation was not given a hearing.

On March 18, 1926, Mr. Casely Hayford, who had joined the delegation to London, said in the Legislative Council:

It strikes me that in the period of our educational progress, it would have been an encouragement to the literate class to feel that they would be adequately and unconditionally represented in the Legislative Council..... We, who have worked hard on this Council for the past ten years ..... had hoped that the result of our work would be such as to encourage government to extend the Franchise to more educated Africans to be able to serve their country. This is not the case under the present measure.....<sup>13</sup>

It was not until 1944 that some slight constitutional changes were made to give the Africans a little more representation on the Legislative Council.

<sup>11</sup> T. Hutton - Mills, Barrister-at-law, President; Casely Hayford, M.B.E., M.L.C., Barrister-at-law, Vice President; H. Van Hien, Treasurer.

<sup>12</sup> G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 583.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



The foregoing gives the general political background against which educational activity during the period 1919-1951 may be viewed. It is to be noted that initially the British Government had adopted a laissez-faire attitude to political control in the Gold Coast. However, circumstances gradually compelled her to take a more responsible attitude which culminated in the central control embodied in the Governor and his ruling councils.

Social. A knowledge of the traditional social life in the Gold Coast helps to give one a better understanding of general developments in the economic, political and social spheres. Lord Hailey aptly expressed this idea thus:

In Africa there has developed a general recognition that policies which do not take into account the nature of the native societies to which they are applied are apt to provoke unforeseen and unwelcome reactions.<sup>14</sup>

British Colonial administration in the Gold Coast generally took cognizance of native social institutions and tried to avoid eliminating these and substituting Western patterns for them. Thus, Governor Guggisberg, speaking in 1926 about the effects of Western culture contact with the Gold Coast, made the following statement:

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<sup>14</sup> Lord Hailey, African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara, London: Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 40.





Now in the south, the inhabitants of the coastal belt have been for several centuries in contact with the civilization and customs of European peoples, and the advent of education and European trade has long imposed a severe strain on their original institutions and customs. This strain is most acute in the larger southern towns, but the gradual extension northwards of education, trade and mining operations has been, and is still exercising a disintegrating influence on the institutions and customs of the interior. So much so is this the case that there is a danger that what are called Western civilization and Western customs will swamp the natural institutions and customs of this country.<sup>15</sup>

An account of the main traditional social practices, customs and institutions in the country is given in the following pages. It is to be noted, however, that education and other aspects of Western civilization are gradually changing the institutions.

Throughout Ghana the basic social and economic unit of traditional Ghanaian society has been the family. Kinship ties are close. Here a person is responsible not only to his elementary family, but also to his extended family. The extended family is a "grouping of two or more families of several generations who are united by consanguinal kinship ties and a common place of residence."<sup>16</sup> Most of the relationships of daily living take place within the extended family.

Traditionally, the people are grouped into clans. Both the matrilineal and patrilineal patterns of clan grouping are found. The Akan tribes have the matrilineal system, while other tribes in Northern

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<sup>15</sup> G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 600.

<sup>16</sup> I. N. Thut and Don Adams, Educational Patterns in Contemporary Societies, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, p. 424.





Ghana as well as others such as the Gas and Krobos in the south are patrilineal. Under the patrilineal system, the relationships between individuals are identified through the male line, while with the matrilineal pattern, the identification is through the female line.

Group feeling and solidarity among kinsmen are sustained by the free use of classificatory kinship terminology. This means "that terms which are applied to lineal relatives (for instance, father and son) may also be applied to certain collateral kin (for example, father's brother, brother's son)."<sup>17</sup> Thus, in Ghana a person may be found calling his father's sister by the term 'father'.

The family and the clan all have an influence on the values, conduct and responsibilities of the individual since the societal norms demand a fairly high degree of conformity to them.

Marriage is an institution in which, traditionally, parents played a predominant role in the selection of mates. In contracting the marriage, the payment of a dowry or bridewealth is essential. It is paid to the future bride's family who in exchange give gifts to the groom.

The dowry or bridewealth has a very important function in maintaining the solidarity of the marriage because it serves as security for the behaviour of both parties. Beatie states:

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<sup>17</sup> John Beatie, Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology, London: Cohen and West, 1964, p. 103.



If the wife behaves badly, her husband may divorce her and demand the return of his bridewealth ..... if the husband maltreats his wife or fails to support her, she may leave him and if he is found to be at fault his affines may refuse to return the bridewealth, so that he loses both property and wife.<sup>18</sup>

The dowry is particularly important in establishing the legality of a marriage and in validating the social status of its offspring.

It is worth noting that the marriage dowry system has been a contributory factor in the proliferation of polygynous marriages in Ghana. Provided a man has sufficient financial resources to pay the necessary amount of dowry, he can keep on adding to the number of his wives. Chiefs particularly are noted for the multiplicity of wives they have. Despite over a hundred years of missionary activity in Ghana, polygyny has not yet been eliminated from the society.

Chieftaincy is a very fundamental institution. A chief has great authority in his domain. Traditionally, he led his people to war and in peace time he was their protector and arbiter. The chief's authority is not absolute, because there are provisions to check his arbitrary use of power. When a chief is enstooled, his elders make him aware of the rules governing the transfer and exercise of political authority; he is expected to conform to these rules, so that a check is thus placed on his authority. Also a newly enstooled<sup>19</sup> chief has to take a public oath and receive public admonitions from his elders.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>19</sup> A common Ghanaian word for "enthroned."





At such public ceremony he has to promise to rule justly and live an exemplary life. This has the psychological effect of committing the new chief to behave in a responsible manner compatible with his dignified social status. Then also, the fear of being destooled is a further check on his arbitrary use of power.

For a very long time chieftaincy has played a significant role in Ghanaian tribal government. However, the institution is now being rapidly weakened as a result of Western culture contact and the achievement of political independence. It is a fact that "..... with the coming of independence and the evolution of modern power structures the new African elites were to view a chief-centred society as a disdainful anachronism."<sup>20</sup>

Throughout Ghana there is a strong belief in the perpetual "existence of a Supreme Being who was Spirit and Creator and the Source of all power and energy."<sup>21</sup> Owing to the general lack of scientific knowledge, natural phenomena which are inexplicable are generally attributed to the action of ghosts, spirits and gods. There are many superstitious beliefs connected with the interpretation of the universe.

In many places, misfortunes such as illness and crop failure may be attributed to spirits, ghosts and gods which may be thought to inflict such hardships as punishments for people's non-conformity to societal norms or just from motives of vengeance.

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<sup>20</sup> I. N. Thut and Don Adams, op. cit., p. 425.

<sup>21</sup> K. A. Busia, Purposeful Education for Africa, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964, p. 14.





Traditional religion in Ghana, as in many parts of Africa, was founded on sacrifice to ancestral spirits or ghosts. Although dead, the ancestors are believed to form an integral part of the society and therefore have to be considered in all social relations. In this connection McElligott writes:

Religion was the main pivot around which revolved all influences fashioning the native's mode of conduct. It was the controlling force regulating his every action, his association with others, the ownership and disposal of his property, even his interpretation of natural phenomena.<sup>22</sup>

Witchcraft, fetishism and sorcery were extensively practised in the early days; this is still the case even in the large towns. It is to be observed that these beliefs are not totally dysfunctional, because fear of witchcraft and sorcery provide a powerful sanction against wrongdoing in the society.

Despite the extensive evangelizing activities of European missionaries, one finds that paradoxically, superstitious and animistic beliefs persist, and that witchcraft and fetishism even tend to be on the increase in many districts. Even in large cities one often meets well-educated persons visiting fetish shrines to obtain charms. This situation has serious consequences since it may sometimes run to ritual murder.

Beatie suggests an explanation for the persistence of witchcraft. He says:

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<sup>22</sup>Theresa Elizabeth McElligott, op. cit., pp. 53-54.



Observers in many parts of Africa have sometimes been puzzled by recent increases in recourse to divination, sorcery and witchcraft, despite two or three generations of devoted mission activity. The explanation is simple. The various changes in traditional institutions ..... often lead to increased stress in interpersonal relations. An important function of sorcery and witchcraft belief is to express and canalize such strains. Where this happens, it is not so much that there is a total rejection of what is new, as that people are utilizing the traditional magico-religious resources of their own culture in order to cope with it.<sup>23</sup>

Informal traditional education did play an important part in Ghanaian social life up to about the first quarter of this century. Everything the young were taught was related to the life and culture of the community and to the kind of life they were expected to lead. The old taught the young the various skills necessary for them to make a living. Such skills included farming, hunting and weaving. Thus Busia writes:

The young were prepared for their social roles in the home, the village or town or tribe. They were constantly made aware of the community to which they belonged, in and for which they were trained through work and play and religious rite; through song and dance and folklore, through the customary services received or given within the all-embracing network of family and kinship ties. This was training in citizenship.<sup>24</sup>

Although the closely-knit traditional way of life is rapidly disintegrating under the influence of Western culture contact, the essential goal of traditional education remains challenging.

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<sup>23</sup>John Beatie, op. cit., p. 260.

<sup>24</sup>K. A. Busia, op. cit., p. 16.





Economic. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries the main items of trade along the coast of the Gold Coast were slaves and gold. European merchants actively participated in the trade. The slave trade was a very lucrative one for both the native Africans and merchants. Although it was abolished by the British Government in 1807 as being illegal, it persisted for a considerable time because of its lucrative nature.

Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century the trade had stopped. Commercial progress now depended largely on the production of cocoa, rubber, gold, timber and palm oil. Of the agricultural products cocoa steadily assumed the leading position on the export list. Although native primitive methods were used in the production of cocoa the natural conditions of soil and climate greatly favoured the industry. Indeed, the country had been amazingly endowed by nature for the production of the crop. On account of the regular demand by European and other markets, and the favourable conditions for its cultivation, cocoa rapidly became the leading export of the Gold Coast.

The rapid increase in cocoa exports from the country is shown in the following figures:<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Gold Coast Handbook, 1937, p. 38; cited by Theresa Elizabeth McElligott, op. cit., p. 43.





Years	Export by Tons
1891 - 1895	5
1896 - 1900	230
1901 - 1905	3,172
1906 - 1910	14,784
1911 - 1915	51,819
1916 - 1920	106,172
1921 - 1925	186,329
1926 - 1930	218,895
1931 - 1935	256,033

It is to be noted from these figures that the phenomenal expansion in cocoa exports occurred after World War I when the cessation of hostilities produced a conducive climate in which general economic development could take place. In fact, the whole economy took a sharp upward swing in the post-war period.

The cocoa plantations are susceptible to attacks by insect pests and diseases. The most serious of these ravages is that of the swollen shoot disease which destroyed several thousands of cocoa trees between 1940 and 1950. This brought about a substantial drop in cocoa exports. The West African Cocoa Research Institute at Tafo discovered the cause of the disease to be a virus carried by the mealy-bug from tree to tree and recommended that the most effective cure was the cutting-out of diseased trees. As a result the Government launched a 'cutting-out campaign' which met with great opposition from the farmers.

Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following remarks in the British Parliament in September, 1948:



In spite of all our efforts and our powers of persuasion we have not induced the farmers to see reason in regard to checking this growth of the swollen shoot disease..... We tried compulsion and we encountered an enormous amount of opposition..... We must build up confidence in the African population and secure their goodwill and understanding.<sup>26</sup>

The swollen shoot disease was the major cause of the fall in cocoa exports from 211,000 tons in 1946 to 162,000 tons in 1947. By the end of 1947 it was estimated that 46,000,000 of the 400,000,000 cocoa trees in the country were infected and were doomed to die within the year.<sup>27</sup> Later, however, the farmers co-operated with the Government in its measures to control the disease so that a certain amount of progress was made.

The economic development of the country during the first half of this century has depended largely on the construction of roads, bridges, railways and harbours. It was the rapid increase in the cocoa trade which stimulated the improvement in the country's transport and communication systems. The first permanent telegraph line was installed at Accra in 1882. Extensions were later made to other parts of the country. Ward observes that the few miles of trunk telephone available in 1920 were rapidly extended to nearly 10,000 miles by 1939.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, September 24, 1948, p. 720.

<sup>27</sup> Gold Coast Annual Report, 1947, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> W.E.F. Ward, op. cit., p. 412.





Railway construction began in 1898, and in 1903 the line from Sekondi reached Kumasi. The Accra-Kumasi line was completed in 1923 while the central province line from Huni Valley to Kade was completed in 1927. During the same period the construction of roads and bridges received the active attention of the Government which also undertook the planning and construction of a modern deepwater harbour to Takoradi.

The credit for these developments goes to Sir Gordon Guggisberg during whose governorship (1919 to 1927) many of the achievements in transport and communications were made. Thus, Metcalfe states:

Guggisberg saw in the improvement of transport ..... harbour, railways and roads, in that order ..... the key to all other development. As the focus of, and indispensable threshold to the new transport system, he planned to construct a deepwater harbour, a site for which was eventually selected ..... at Takoradi.<sup>29</sup>

In his speech to the Legislative Council on November 17, 1919, regarding his Ten Year Development Plan for the country he dealt with the inadequacy of the country's education, health conditions, water supplies, drainage, lighting and town-planning, and emphasized that the means of raising the necessary revenue to provide better social services depended on the following: (a) an increasing trade, (b) a lessening of the cost of production of exports and (c) a lessening of the price of imports. The Governor stated that "the solution of these problems lies ..... in the word transportation."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 575.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 576.





Accordingly, Guggisberg's governorship saw a vast improvement in transport and communications. In 1928, Takoradi harbour was completed, a fitting memorial of Guggisberg in the economic field.

The opening of the harbour and the completion of several hundred miles of roads and railways resulted in a marked expansion of trade after 1928. This was the direct result of the opening up of the country by the communication lines and the tapping of resources in those rural areas hitherto untouched. Particularly worth mentioning, beside the stimulation of the cocoa industry, is the development of gold, manganese, diamond and bauxite mines.

The cultural background given above may help to give a clear perspective of educational developments during the British colonial period from 1919 to 1951.

Two significant influences which moulded the colonial pattern of education in the Gold Coast were first, the English system of education and second, British Colonial policy. These are briefly examined in the following section.

#### The English System and British Colonial Policy

In England, the Education Act of 1870 established what is now known as dual control in education.<sup>31</sup> By this it is meant that the state accepted voluntary agencies as partners in the provision of

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<sup>31</sup> For a full treatment of the English System, see R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. 16-36.



elementary education. The voluntary agencies were mostly the churches. The Government worked out a system of grants-in-aid to schools which were paid out only upon satisfactory reports made by her Majesty's inspectors of schools. The Act stipulated that where there were no voluntary schools or where they were not sufficient, school boards were to provide schools. Although religious teaching was allowed in board schools no religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination was to be given.

Education in the Gold Coast and even present-day Ghana has been of the English dual control form; the missions and government join together in partnership in the provision of education. Formal education in the Gold Coast began in the 1750's on the initiative of the British merchants who invited missionaries to run the schools attached to the forts on the coast. In this connection Metcalfe makes the following statement:

..... the pioneers in educational work in this Colony were missionaries sent out under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at the request of the Royal African Company stationed at Cape Coast.<sup>32</sup>

Later, more missionaries of various religious denominations arrived and founded schools in many parts of the country. They included the Basel Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, the Bremen Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Mission. Others followed later.

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<sup>32</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 578.





The missionaries opened schools for two main reasons, both connected with evangelization. First, they wanted their followers to be able to read the Bible. Second, they wanted the more able scholars to become teachers, catechists and ministers to promote the process of evangelization.

Up to 1881, Government participation in education was negligible. The missions were largely responsible for the establishment of schools. Commenting on this situation Hilliard makes the following remarks:

There were two government schools at Cape Coast and Accra, but apart from them educational developments had been entirely the result of the work of the Christian Missions. There were 132 mission schools with approximately 5,000 children on the rolls.<sup>33</sup>

Following the first grant given by the British Government to English schools in 1833, the Colonial Governments began to give a small amount of financial assistance to the mission schools. In 1880, the grants paid by the Gold Coast Government to the various missions for their educational work were as follows: £150 to the Basel Mission, £200 to the Wesleyan Mission and £75 to the Bremen Mission. The Roman Catholic Mission first applied for aid in 1883.<sup>34</sup> The payment of grants-in-aid to mission schools has continued to the present day.

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<sup>33</sup>F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1957, p. 67.

<sup>34</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 578.





British Colonial educational policy began to affect Gold Coast education in 1882. In that year the West African Education Ordinance was passed by the British Government to regulate -- with certain variations to meet local conditions -- educational work in the British possessions of Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast and Lagos. The Ordinance

..... marks the beginning of a defined relationship between the Voluntary Agencies and the Government and the acceptance by Government of a measure of responsibility for the control of education. It provided for the setting up of a Board of Education, an official Inspector of Schools, recurrent grants based on the system of payment by results (i.e., on the ability of the pupils to pass examinations) and capital grants towards the cost of school buildings and equipment.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, in 1882 the first Ordinance for the promotion and assistance of education was passed in the Legislative Council. The main provisions of the Ordinance are summarized by Metcalfe as follows:<sup>36</sup>

1. The appointment of a General Board of Education consisting of the Governor as President, the members of the Legislative Council and not more than four other members nominated by the Governor.
2. The formation of Local Boards ..... to report to the General Board on the advisability or not of establishing new government schools; to ascertain that the conditions on which the grants-in-aid were to be allowed were fulfilled .....; to grant certificates to teachers.
3. The appointment of an Inspector of Schools; provision for syllabus and religious instruction.

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<sup>35</sup> R. J. Mason, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 579.



Later in 1882, an Amending Ordinance was passed to empower the Governor to grant certificates. Thus, the laissez-faire attitude which initially characterized the Government's participation in education now gave way to one of increased interest and responsibility.

After the West African Education Ordinance of 1882, the next important British educational policy for the colonies was promulgated in November, 1923, when the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies came into existence. Before 1923, there was no co-ordination of educational policy in these areas, though there were occasional conferences, local adaptations of English legislation and the drafting of ordinances.

Lewis makes the following statement about the formation of the Advisory Committee:

Whilst 1923 represents the starting point of the period of co-ordinated policy-making, it must be pointed out that but for the 1914-18 World War such a development would almost certainly have occurred some years earlier. Both in missionary and governmental circles concern had developed at the weaknesses and deficiencies of educational facilities provided for the dependent peoples, and the formation of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa was the direct outcome of this concern.<sup>37</sup>

The formation of the Advisory Committee was the result of a memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. The memorandum described the state of education

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<sup>37</sup> L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1954, p. 13.





in Africa, stressed the importance of co-operation between the missionary organizations and called for the establishment of a permanent educational advisory committee at the Colonial Office in London. A number of recommendations submitted to the Secretary of State led him to appoint a committee with the following terms of reference:

To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa, which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates.<sup>38</sup>

When the Advisory Committee was formed it found that there were several problems common to the various dependencies which called for guidance. The problems were thoroughly examined, the Governments and voluntary agencies co-operating fully to find solutions. In 1925, the Advisory Committee published the results of its investigations in a memorandum which laid down educational principles to guide the dependencies. The principles<sup>39</sup> included the following: 1) the Governments should encourage voluntary effort and advisory boards of education should be established in each dependency, 2) education should be adapted to local conditions, 3) inspectors of schools should be appointed.

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<sup>38</sup>Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2374, H.M.S.O. 1925; cited by L. J. Lewis, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>39</sup>For all the principles, see L. J. Lewis, op. cit., p. 17.





The work of the Advisory Committee in the first years of its activity was a tremendous success. As a result the Colonial Conference of 1927 strongly recommended the extension of its activities to all the British colonies. After consulting the Colonial Governments the Secretary of State dissolved the old Committee and formed a new one as of January 1, 1929. This new body, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, was constituted on the same pattern as its predecessor, with experienced representatives from all areas, leading educationists in Great Britain, members of the missionary societies and Governors and directors of education as associate members.

The Governors of the British colonies, including the Gold Coast, found many helpful suggestions in the Advisory Committee memorandum, which became the basis of educational development for a considerable period.

Despite the work done by the Advisory Committee in laying down sound principles for educational development, little progress was made owing to lack of adequate resources in almost all the British colonies, the Gold Coast not being excepted. Britain's financial policy, which obtained until 1940, was one of the main reasons why recommended educational policy did not come into practice as quickly or as completely as the Advisory Committee envisaged.

However, beginning about 1940, Britain took a more active interest in colonial development so that her traditional laissez-faire attitude to her colonies rapidly changed.



Lord Hailey, writing about this change of attitude, states:

This attitude, the translation into the Colonial sphere of the laissez-faire principles of the Victorian era, was after the turn of the century challenged by a new concept which had come to be increasingly accepted in domestic politics, the doctrine, namely, that active State intervention was a necessary lever to the amelioration of social conditions.<sup>40</sup>

This new doctrine was given legislative expression in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 and its successive amendments. This Act greatly expanded the scope and spirit of the Act of 1929 and made available about five million pounds a year for ten years for the development of the resources of the colonies or the welfare of their people. A further £500,000 a year was allocated for research and inquiry.<sup>41</sup>

Thus for the first time Great Britain took the bold initiative of financing not only economic development but also social services in her colonies. Social services which had formerly been looked upon as unproductive, were now regarded as forms of capital investment, for it was realized that without a healthy, vigorous and educated community the application of Western technology to the exploitation of natural resources was impossible. Lewis notes that "the adjustment of financial outlook was carried a stage further in 1945 when a new Act made available the sum of 120 million pounds to be spent over a period of ten years."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Lord Hailey, An African Survey, Revised 1956: A Study of Problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 203.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 1323.

<sup>42</sup> L. J. Lewis, op. cit., p. 47.





The total sums issued for educational development to the fifteen colonial territories in Africa from 1946 to 1954 were as follows:<sup>43</sup>

Primary and Secondary education	£ 5,293,000
Technical and Vocational education	3,075,000
Higher education, including scholarships	397,000

The Gold Coast enjoyed these financial benefits.

So far as higher education in the colonies is concerned, the following sums were issued under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts toward the capital cost of the various institutions between 1945 and 1955:<sup>44</sup>

University College, Ibadan, Nigeria	£ 1,710,864
University College, Gold Coast	400,000
Makerere College, East Africa	1,087,223
Nigeria College of Arts, Science and Technology	265,232
Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone	99,853
Royal Technical College of East Africa	150,000

#### Education Under Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg, 1919-1927

The development of Gold Coast education under the governorship of Sir Gordon Guggisberg<sup>45</sup> (1919-1927) is to be seen against the wider background of British Colonial policy and the English system of education outlined in the preceding section.

<sup>43</sup> Lord Hailey, op. cit., p. 1167.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 1182.

<sup>45</sup> Brigadier-General Frederick Gordon Guggisberg (later Sir) 1869-1930; born in Toronto, Canada; entered the army 1889; engaged in survey work in the Gold Coast (1902-8); Surveyor-General of Nigeria (1910-14); served in France 1914-18; Governor of the Gold Coast 1919-27; Governor of British Guiana 1928-30.



In formulating his plans and policies for educational development, the Governor sought advice and guidance from three main sources. These were the Educationists' Committee of 1920 which he himself appointed, the Phelps-Stokes Commission and finally, the Central Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies whose activities have already been discussed.

The Educationists' Committee was appointed by the Governor in March, 1920 and produced its report in May of the same year. Under the chairmanship of the Director of Education, D. J. Oman, it comprised Josiah Spio-Garbrah, Headmaster of the Government Boys' School, Cape Coast, as well as representatives of the Scottish, Wesleyan and Anglican missions. The Committee was instructed "to investigate past educational efforts in the Gold Coast, their success or failure and the reasons therefor" and then "to consider the whole educational policy and to make recommendations on a range of questions which covered the whole field and were set out in considerable detail."<sup>46</sup>

The Committee made three main recommendations. First, it was recommended that English should be introduced as early as possible as a subject of instruction in the primary schools, but that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction. The committee also made recommendations about the preparation of vernacular textbooks as a result of which a special Publications Officer was appointed.

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<sup>46</sup>H.O.A. McWilliam, The Development of Education in Ghana, London: Longmans, 1959, p. 50.





The second recommendation referred to the teaching profession. Emphasis was laid on better training for teachers as well as improved conditions of service for them.

The third recommendation dealt with the necessity of establishing a secondary boarding school for boys. This school was to be established by the Government. It was recommended that the school should be built at Achimota.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission on African Education was an important landmark in American, British and African co-operation. After the First World War American missionary bodies working in Africa had decided that a thorough enquiry must precede their post-war development plans. With this the British missions agreed, and a Commission therefore went out to Africa financed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which was a million-dollar fund set up under the will of an American lady of that name to be devoted to advancing the education of Negroes, among others.

The chairman of the Commission was Thomas Jesse Jones, British by birth from Wales, trained in sociology at Columbia University, with unique experience as director of research at Hampton Institute, the oldest and most promising of institutions for Negro education. The following were the other members of the Commission: Dr. James Emman Kwagyir Aggrey, a native of the Gold Coast; Dr. and Mrs. Wilkie of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in the Gold Coast; Henry Stanley Hollenbeck, M.D. of Milwaukee, for twelve years a medical missionary in Angola; Mr. Leo Roy, closely associated with Mr. Jones in his study of Negro schools in America.





The Commission started its work in 1919. In 1922 it published its report.<sup>47</sup> The countries visited and included in the survey of the Commission were Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Congo and Liberia. The main observations<sup>48</sup> of the Commission may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) education should aim at creating in Africans self respect through self help by the learning of skills and knowledge to be applied in everyday life; 2) education should be adapted to the natural and social environment, 3) educational institutions should be properly organized and supervised, 4) a clear line should be drawn between education for the masses and education for leadership, and 5) there should be co-operation among Government, mission and commerce in respect of educational planning and development.

Incidentally, it is noteworthy that many of the Phelps-Stokes recommendations were embodied in the 1925 Memorandum on Education in British Tropical Africa prepared by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission was generally impressed with efforts being made in the Gold Coast to improve education. Concluding its observations in the Gold Coast, the Commission assembled in Accra and held a conference with Governor Guggisberg. Dr. James Kwagyir Aggrey expressed the general opinion of the Commission in the following words:

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<sup>47</sup> Thomas Jesse Jones (ed.), Education in Africa, New York: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922.

<sup>48</sup> John Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963, pp. 37-39.



The Gold Coast is destined to come up to the forefront of the Colonies. The educational plans now being inaugurated by the Governor, Sir Frederick Guggisberg, are among the most significant governmental movements for education in Africa.<sup>49</sup>

Soon after assuming office, Guggisberg declared that his Government regarded education as the most crucial factor in the development of the country. He outlined his educational policy as follows:

We want to give to all Africans the opportunity of both moral and material progress by opening for them the benefits and delights that come from literature, and by equipping them with the knowledge necessary to success in their occupations, no matter how humble. We want to give to those who wish it an opportunity of becoming leaders of their own countrymen in thought, industries and the professions.<sup>50</sup>

The Governor regarded education as the keystone of Government Policy. In his booklet entitled The Keystone, he elaborated this theme as follows:

The main policy of the Gold Coast Government is the general progress of the people towards a higher state of civilization ..... The part in this policy played by education is that of the Keystone of an arch ..... To stand the pressure brought to bear on the Arch of Progress by the hurricane of material development, the storm of criticism and the windy tornadoes of political agitation, the Keystone must be well and truly laid and composed of strong materials.<sup>51</sup>

In the Legislative Assembly on March 6, 1924, he said among other things:

<sup>49</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>50</sup>H.O.A. McWilliam, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>51</sup>Sir Gordon Guggisberg, The Keystone, London: Simpkin, 1924, p. 19.





The stumbling block to greater progress in education is the lack of sufficient African teachers with the necessary educational attainments and qualities of character that are necessary for the efficient training of both the youth and the young manhood of this country.....<sup>52</sup>

It can be seen how much importance he attached to well-qualified teachers of good character. He further deplored the existing educational system which was predominantly literary in character and devoid of technical or vocational elements. He said:

..... we are at present turning out annually some 4,000 to 5,000 boys who are only fitted to be clerks and, what is worse, the majority of whom could not, from their education, be anything but inferior clerks. We are flooding the market with semi-educated youths for whom, owing to their disdain for manual labour, there is annually less employment ..... Failing employment in an office and strongly imbued with an unhealthy dislike to manual labour, they fall a natural victim to discontent and consequently to unhappiness.<sup>53</sup>

Incidentally, it may be remarked here that this problem of the "educated unemployed" has persisted to this day. The solution to the problem, the Governor suggested, lay in the establishment of secondary schools.

Also, with considerable insight, he pointed out the danger in the existence of the large intellectual gap between the elite and the masses at that time. Under such circumstances, he observed, the uneducated masses might easily be misled by the demagoguery of the educated. Quoting Lord Cromer on this undesirable situation, he said:

<sup>52</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 597.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.



In this early part of the twentieth century there is no possible general remedy against the demagogue except that which consists in educating those who are his natural prey to such an extent that they may at all events have some chance of discerning the imposture which, but too often, lurks beneath his perfervid eloquence and political quackery.<sup>54</sup>

With such ideals, and having made his plans with the assistance of the three bodies<sup>55</sup> already discussed, Guggisberg prepared sixteen principles of education.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg's Sixteen Principles of Education, as enumerated by McWilliam are as follows:<sup>56</sup>

1. Primary education must be thorough and be from the bottom to the top.
2. The provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
3. The provision of a university.
4. Equal opportunities to those given to boys should be provided for the education of girls.
5. Co-education is desirable during certain stages of education.
6. The staff of teachers must be of the highest possible quality.
7. Character training must take an important place in education.
8. Religious teaching should form part of school life.
9. Organized games should form part of school life.
10. The course in every school should include special references to the health, welfare and industries of the locality.
11. A sufficient staff of efficient African inspectors of schools must be trained and maintained.

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 598.

<sup>55</sup> The Educationists' Committee, 1920; the Phelps-Stokes Commission; the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

<sup>56</sup> H.O.A. McWilliam, op. cit., pp. 53-54.





12. Whilst an English Education must be given it must be based solidly on the vernacular.
13. Education cannot be compulsory nor free.
14. There should be co-operation between the Government and the Missions; and the latter should be subsidized for educational purposes.
15. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.
16. The provision of trade schools with a technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens.

To reinforce the Guggisberg principles, a new Education Ordinance for the Gold Coast Colony was submitted to the Legislative Assembly in 1925 and put into effect two years later. A new Board of Education was constituted. It consisted of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, three nominated officials, the Director of Education, the Principal of Achimota and four nominated African members. The most drastic change made by this law pertained to the subsidizing clause:

A grant-in-aid from Government funds, the conditions and amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Board, may be made to any institution, school or college in which teachers are specially trained, provided that the Director of Education is satisfied with the provision made for the general welfare of the students and with the discipline and tone of such training institution, school or college; and provided further that each of such teachers should have given bond to complete the course of training the duration of which should be determined by the Board, and to teach either in a government school or assisted school for a period of not less than five years.<sup>57</sup>

It may be recalled that according to the West African Education Ordinance of 1882, recurrent grants were to be made to schools on the basis of a system of "payment by results", that is, on the ability of the pupils to pass examinations. However, as may be noted here, the

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<sup>57</sup> Laws of the Gold Coast, 1936, revised edition, p. 1345.





1925 Education Ordinance made it possible for any school to qualify for a grant-in-aid by attaining and maintaining specified standards of efficiency. This inevitably led to a rapid increase in the Government's educational expenditure. The total grants-in-aid rose from £28,879 in 1925 to £32,225 in 1926, an increase of £3,346.<sup>58</sup> Subsequent figures from 1930 to 1938 were as follows:<sup>59</sup>

1930-31	£125,975
1931-32	97,260
1932-33	96,688
1933-34	93,800
1934-35	100,000
1935-36	104,100
1936-37	106,000
1937-38	132,100

The relatively lower figures from 1932 to 1937 reflect the world economic depression of the nineteen-thirties.

The 1925 Ordinance insisted on efficiency in the running of the schools; the primary objective was quality, not quantity. A reasonable length of time - two years - was allowed to lapse to permit all schools to conform to the specifications laid down by the Ordinance but a warning was given that steps would be taken to close them if efforts toward improvement were not started immediately and were not steadily continued. This warning was duly executed in 1927 when the Ordinance went into effect and "one hundred and fifty bush schools"<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Report on Education Department, 1926, p. 23.

<sup>59</sup>Report on Education Department, 1938, p. 14.

<sup>60</sup>Bushschools: These were the numerous unassisted primary schools in the villages. They were staffed largely by unqualified teachers.



were closed."<sup>61</sup> Despite severe criticism from the missionaries and other persons, the Government remained adamant in the interest of efficiency and uniformity.

#### The Primary School System

The following table shows the increase in the number of primary schools between 1904 and 1924.

TABLE I  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE IN THE  
GOLD COAST, 1904-1924<sup>62</sup>

Year	Number of Government and Assisted Schools	Total Enrolment	Average Attendance
1904	126	13,955	10,234
1909	158	16,711	11,968
1914	160	20,246	15,152
1919	213	27,318	21,928
1924	236	34,690	30,456

Primary schools in this period were divided into two main classes, called "urban" and "rural". These terms are misleading because they do not have the geographical connotation suggested, but rather refer to the ability to undertake respectively a fuller or a simpler curriculum.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Legislative Council Debates, 1929, p. 168.

<sup>62</sup> F. H. Hilliard, op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.





The urban school curriculum in 1914 included the following subjects:

- (1) Colloquial English
- (2) English Reading
- (3) Writing
- (4) Arithmetic
- (5) Hygiene (in Standard IV and upwards)
- (6) Plain Needlework (for girls)
- (7) Hand and Eye: Industrial Training to include Drawing or Nature Study and Agricultural Training
- (8) Object Lessons in Nature Study and Elementary Hand and Eye Training in Infant Classes.

For the rural schools the curriculum was similar, except that (7) read as follows:

- (7) Drawing, Nature Study and Agriculture or other Manual Training approved by the Director of Education.

In addition to the basic subjects listed above, there were the following optional subjects which were apparently taken to a much greater extent in the "urban" schools rather than in the "rural" schools, viz.,

- (1) Vernacular Reading
- (2) Singing
- (3) Geography
- (4) History
- (5) Grammar
- (6) Drill and Physical Exercises



- (7) Book-Keeping
- (8) Shorthand
- (9) Mensuration
- (10) Algebra
- (11) Kindergarten.

It is to be noted that sections (7) and (8) were designed to train pupils for later appointment as clerks in the Clerical Service. It can also be seen that religious instruction is absent from both the obligatory and optional lists. In actual practice religious instruction was given before the opening or closing of morning school.

The relative importance of the various missions as well as the Government in the provision of primary education, can be seen from the following statistics:

#### PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE GOLD COAST<sup>64</sup>

	<u>1920</u>	
Scottish Mission	80 schools	8,530 pupils
A.M.E. Zion	6 schools	1,039 pupils
Church of England	2 schools	500 pupils
Wesleyan Mission	35 schools	6,758 pupils
Catholic Mission	20 schools	2,346 pupils
Government	8 schools	3,079 pupils
	<u>1925</u>	
Scottish Mission	76 schools	9,149 pupils
A.M.E. Zion	20 schools	1,048 pupils
Church of England	5 schools	816 pupils
Wesleyan Mission	34 schools	5,804 pupils
Presbyterian Mission	84 schools	8,539 pupils
Catholic Mission	19 schools	2,478 pupils
Government	8 schools	3,345 pupils

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<sup>64</sup>Gold Coast Blue Books, Government Press, Accra: 1921-1926, 1931, 1935.



1930

A.M.E. Zion	4 schools	530 pupils
Church of England	9 schools	1,182 pupils
Wesleyan Mission	38 schools	9,478 pupils
Presbyterian Mission	88 schools	13,082 pupils
Catholic Mission	26 schools	2,646 pupils
Government	10 schools	3,736 pupils

1935

Scottish Mission	2 schools	176 pupils
A.M.E. Zion	10 schools	885 pupils
Church of England	14 schools	1,912 pupils
Presbyterian Mission	124 schools	10,771 pupils
Methodist Mission	73 schools	8,408 pupils
Catholic Mission	13 schools	1,630 pupils
Government	10 schools	3,484 pupils

The preponderance of mission over Government schools up to 1935 is immediately apparent. By enrolment the Government provided only seven percent of primary education in 1935. In fact, the provision of primary education throughout the country has been largely the responsibility of the missions.

Figure 1 shows the enrolment and average attendance in Government and assisted primary schools between 1910 and 1937. The increases have been remarkable.

The primary school course took ten years to complete. Children normally went to school at the age of six when they were admitted to Infant Class one. After three years they proceeded to Standard one and continued for another seven years. The classification arrangement is shown in the following table:





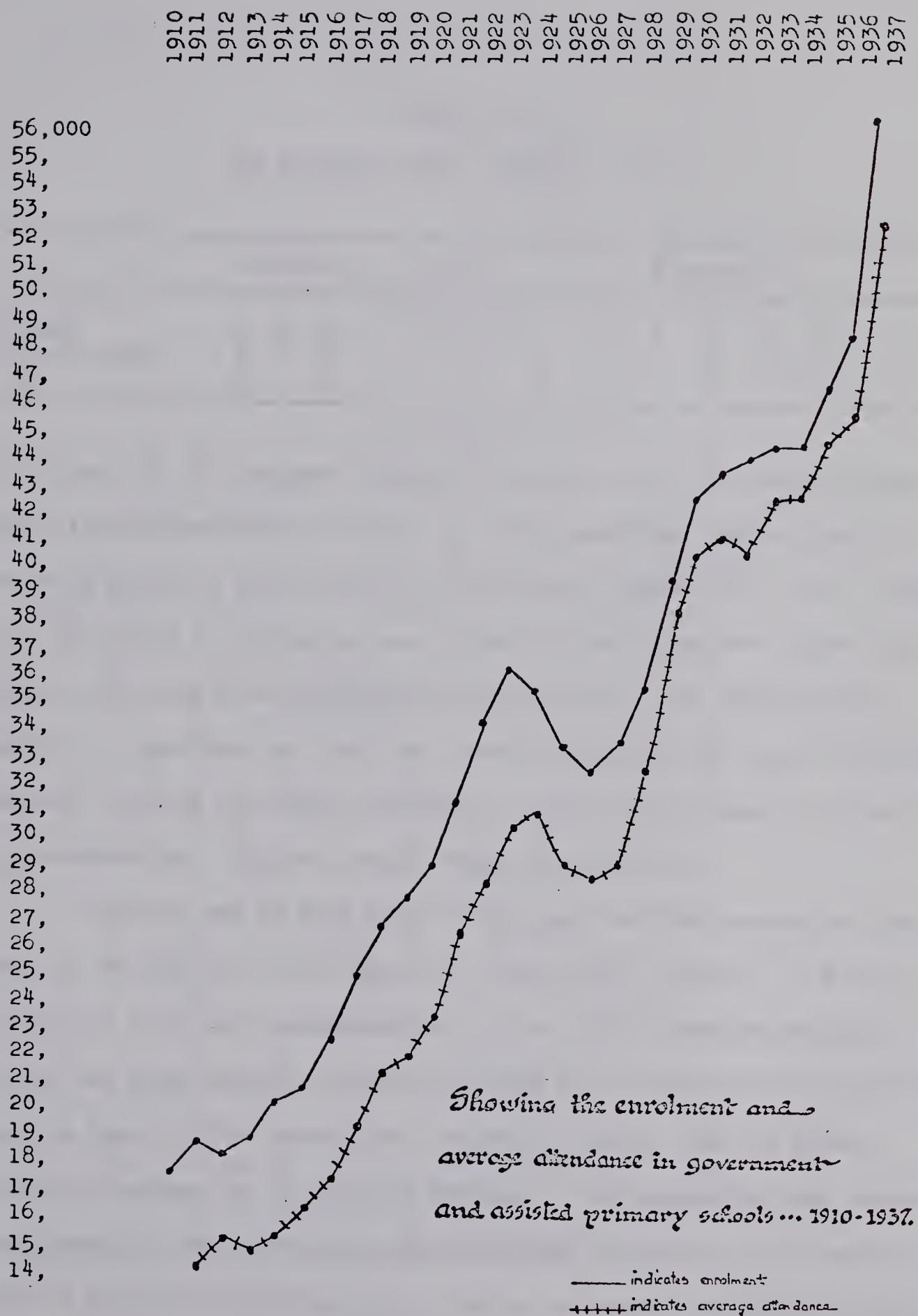


FIGURE I

SHOWING THE ENROLMENT AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE IN GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1910-1937 (FROM REPORT ON EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, 1937-1938.)



TABLE II  
THE PRIMARY SCHOOL COURSE IN 1920

	Infants			Standards						
Class	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Age in Years	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

At the end of the ten-year course, the pupils took the Standard Seven Certificate Examination, success in which sometimes enabled one to secure a clerical job in the Civil Service or commercial field. Enterprising pupils in Standards four, five, six and sometimes seven took special entrance examinations for admission into the few secondary schools in existence at the time. Some Standard seven leavers entered teacher training colleges or technical schools after passing a qualifying examination. Figure 2 shows these relationships.

Mention may be made here of the fact that the vernacular was used as the medium of instruction in the infant classes. This was in conformity with the recommendations of the 1920 Educationists' Committee and Guggisberg's twelfth principle which required that education must be based on the vernacular. However, popular feeling became gradually opposed to this policy because it was suspected that the encouragement of the vernacular was an attempt by the Colonial Government to provide Africans with an inferior education and also to hold back progress in secondary and university education. It was this feeling which led the Government, later in 1956, to appoint a committee to





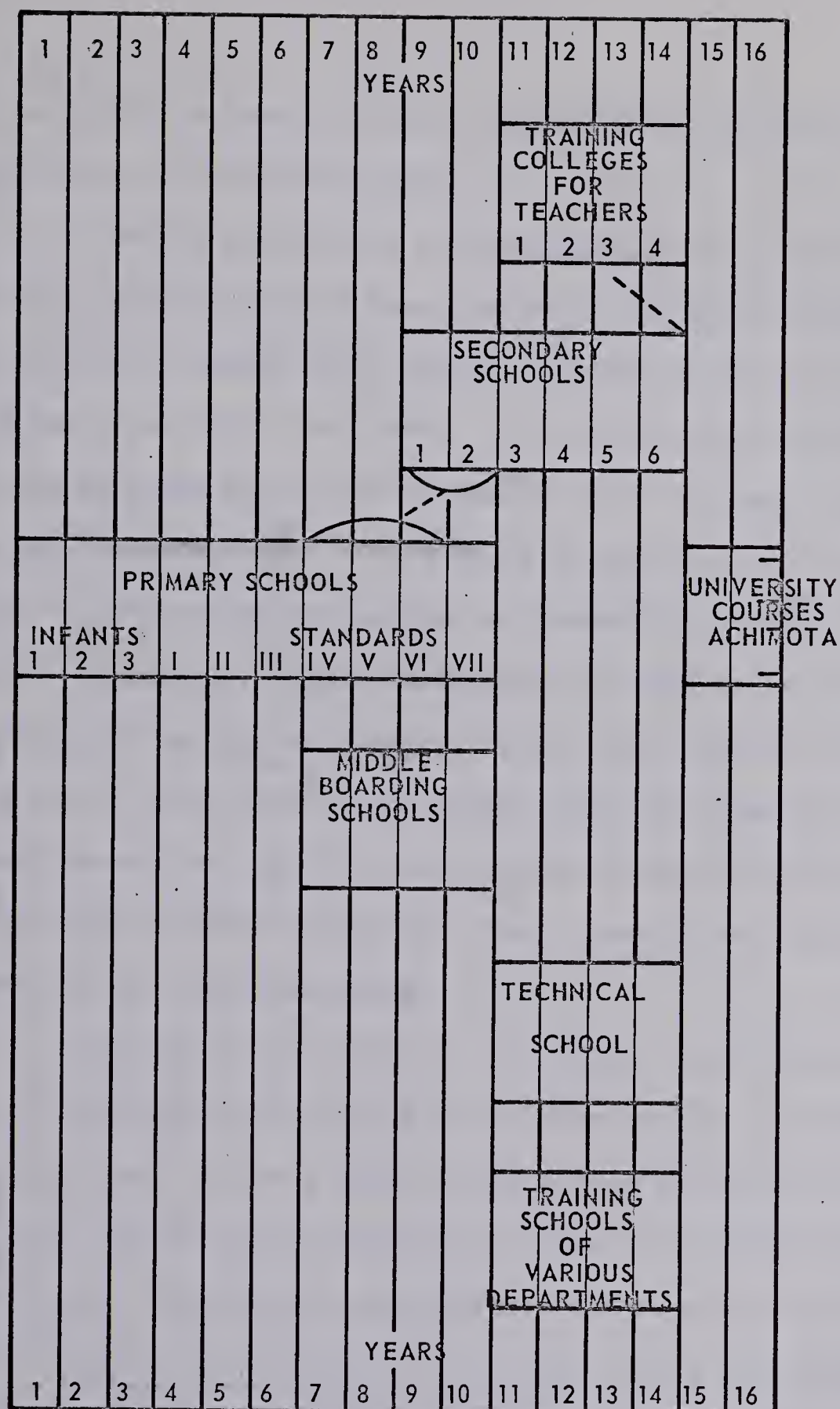


FIGURE 2

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VARIOUS  
 EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE GOLD COAST  
 (FROM GOLD COAST COLONY: REPORT ON THE  
 EDUCATION DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR  
 1935-36, GOVERNMENT PRINTER,  
 ACCRA, 1936)



investigate the possibilities of using English as the medium of instruction in the primary school.

The rapid expansion of primary education in the first quarter of the twentieth century necessitated an increase in teacher-training facilities. Commenting on the small number of training institutions in the early days, Hilliard states: "Up to the year 1909 the only training being given was in the two Seminaries of the Basel Mission at Akropong and Abetifi."<sup>65</sup> This was a two-year course and was normally open to persons who had successfully passed the Standard Seven Certificate Examination. As is to be naturally expected in the general absence of teacher-training facilities, pupil teachers bulked large in the teaching service. Pupil teachers were recruited from the Standard seven leavers who could neither proceed to secondary schools nor find immediate employment elsewhere. Their academic standard was poor; nevertheless, they were needed.

Obviously, this state of affairs was unsatisfactory on account of the extremely poor quality of the teaching done by them. Therefore, the Government opened a training institution at Accra in 1909 to give a two-year course to pupil teachers. Students who passed the first and second year examinations were awarded first, second and third class certificates, on the basis of which their salary was assessed. The Government Training School at Accra was later transferred to Achimota.

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<sup>65</sup>F. Hilliard, op. cit., p. 82.



The Wesleyan Methodist Mission opened the Wesley Training Institution at Aburi in 1918 to supply teachers for its schools.<sup>66</sup> The institution was transferred to Kumasi in 1924 and renamed Wesley College. Like the training institutions at Abetifi, Akropong and Accra, Wesley College initially offered a two-year course. In 1923, however, the course of training in all the four institutions was extended to three years. The graduates from these institutions were awarded the Government's Teachers' Certificates.

Since the missions were largely responsible for managing the schools as well as the teacher training colleges, religious instruction constituted an important element in the curriculum of these institutions. It is to be remembered that evangelization was the predominant motive for the opening of educational institutions by the missions. In almost all cases the missions combined teacher training with evangelical training so that the graduates from the colleges could simultaneously teach and preach.

The case of the Methodist Mission is typical of this trend. In 1908, W. T. Balmer, a leading figure in the Church, recommended to the Methodist Missionary Society that a central institution be established "which shall combine under one roof the training of native teachers,

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<sup>66</sup>The Wesley Training Institution at Aburi was a teacher-catechist college. See F. L. Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 186.





agents, catechists and ministers ....."<sup>67</sup> Wesley College, opened at Kumasi in 1924 was the required institution where teachers, catechists and ministers were trained "under one roof."

The curriculum followed at the Wesley Training Institution, Aburi (later, Wesley College), shows the importance attached to religion. Bartels, writing about the curriculum, states:

This curriculum consisted of English Grammar and Composition, Arithmetic, History and Geography of the Gold Coast (Ghana); the Bible and Old and New Testament History, Theology, Homiletics and Church Organization and Discipline; Book-Keeping, School Method and Management; and Vernacular Studies and a study of Fetishism and Mohammedanism.<sup>68</sup>

A similar trend was noticeable in the training institutions administered by the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian missions.

The following table shows the relative numbers of certificated and uncertificated teachers in 1927.

TABLE III  
NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN  
THE GOLD COAST, 1927<sup>69</sup>

Teachers	Men	Women	Total
Certificated	972	37	1,009
Uncertificated	1,084	104	1,188

<sup>67</sup>F. L. Bartels, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>69</sup>F. Hilliard, op. cit., p. 83.



The Teachers' Journal which first appeared in 1928, proved a valuable source of professional training.<sup>70</sup>

### Secondary Education

The first secondary school to receive a Government grant was the Church of England Grammar School at Cape Coast - now Adisadel School - opened on January 1, 1910. The aim of the school was to produce teachers, catechists and priests for the English Church Missions. It received its first Government grant in 1911.

The Wesleyan mission founded Wesleyan High School in 1876 at Cape Coast. It was renamed Wesleyan Collegiate School in 1891 and finally Mfantshipim. The influence of religion in the mission secondary schools is exemplified by the case of Mfantshipim. Speaking at the Speech Day of 1933, the principal, R. A. Lockhart, made the following statement:

Our older pupils continue to take Sunday School classes in Cape Coast; they walk miles every Sunday to preach in little village chapels, and they minister to the bodies of the people as well as to their souls. Our pupils are not plaster saints, but every boy in the school knows that our allegiance is given to Jesus Christ and some of them recognize His right to rule their lives.<sup>71</sup>

Pupils in Standards five, six and seven were admitted to the secondary schools. The course lasted five years at the end of which the students took the Overseas School Certificate Examination of the University of

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<sup>70</sup> The Teachers' Journal ceased publication during World War II. It was later revived under the title Gold Coast Education but is now known as The Ghana Teachers' Journal.

<sup>71</sup> F. L. Bartels, op. cit., p. 200.







Cambridge. The curriculum was necessarily based on the English pattern; it was largely literary in character and not suited to local conditions. Subjects like English History and British Empire History were studied for examinations. Commenting on this undesirable state of affairs Rev. E. W. Thompson, a Wesleyan missionary, called for "some modification of the curriculum which would relate it more clearly to the life of the people."<sup>72</sup>

The conditions at Mfantshipim noted above were applicable to the other mission secondary schools. Several attempts were made in this period by private individuals to open more secondary schools in the hope of obtaining Government financial assistance. It is significant, however, that two girls' schools were established and developed into first class institutions. They are the Wesley Girls' High School at Cape Coast and the English Church Mission Girls' High School also originally at Cape Coast, but later transferred to Mampong in Ashanti in 1936, under the new name of Saint Monica's School.

The development of Achimota is examined in a later section on account of its special importance in the country's educational program.

Technical education began in 1909 with the establishment of the Accra Technical Institute. Woodwork and metalwork were the two main courses provided since it was the aim to supply the Government workshops with skilled personnel. Students were admitted at Standard five level or upwards for a two or three year course. The school made satisfactory progress, filling an obvious gap in the educational system

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 194.



at this period. It was transferred to Takoradi in 1939 and has now grown into a full-size Technical Institute.

In order to meet the growing need for artisans of a reasonable educational standard, four junior trade schools were opened by the Government in 1922. These were located at Yendi, Mampong-Ashanti, Kibi and Asuansi. The Yendi school was later moved to Tamale.

The rapid improvements and developments in education at all levels naturally necessitated a greater degree of supervision and administration than had hitherto been the case. As a result, the Education Department was reorganized on a regional basis, thus decentralizing control.

Previously, in 1911, the Education Department with headquarters in Accra, was composed as follows:

Director of Education

One Senior Inspector of Schools

Four Inspectors of School

By 1924, the administration had been regionalized; five provincial Inspectors were appointed by the Government, one for each of the following provinces: Central Province, Western Province, Trans-Volta, Ashanti and Northern Territories. In addition, one officer was assigned the responsibility of organizing and supervising "practical education." Finally, a Deputy Director of Education was appointed to assist the Director.





It can therefore be seen that the foundations for an organized educational system were laid during the governorship of Governor Guggisberg. The Governor left his post in 1927 and departed from the Gold Coast. As a tribute to him the Deputy Director of Education, H. A. Harman, wrote the following about him in 1935:

It astounds one sometimes to think what did happen (in Guggisberg's time). In the primary schools infants were properly graded in classes and the teaching was adapted to the needs of young children. Mission and Government organizers changed the whole character of the schools, and not the least of their achievements was that it became an honour to teach the very young..... Generally, and throughout the primary schools it was a time of better buildings, better equipment, better staff and better methods of teaching, brought about by willing co-operation between Government and missions through a pooling of resources of money and personnel.<sup>73</sup>

Just before leaving the country Guggisberg gave the Legislative Council his final message on education. He said:

I am convinced that the work which has been done in the past seven years ..... has resulted in solid foundations that the African will be given what he desires.

But there is not the slightest use in building foundations if the edifice erected thereon is not well designed and carefully constructed; nor is there the slightest use in creating opportunities if they are not taken.

My message therefore is: To those charged with education, build your house carefully and on the approved design, putting in maybe an additional window here or a door there if necessary, but adhering to the original design. And to the people of the country I would say, support those who are building the house of education. Do not let the - often fictitious - urgency of your desires of the moment obscure the vision of what is best in the future for your children and your children's children. And when the house of education is complete, enter into it and take the full opportunities for enjoying the benefits thereof.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Teachers' Journal, Vol. VII (1935), pp. 33-34. Cited by H.O.A. McWilliam, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

<sup>74</sup>H.O.A. McWilliams, op. cit., p. 62.





Education After Guggisberg, 1927-1951

Probably the most significant of Guggisberg's achievements in Gold Coast education was the establishment of Prince of Wales College which later came to be called Achimota School and College. It was completed in 1926 and formally opened in 1927. It was Guggisberg's plan that this institution would be the mainspring of all educational work in the country. He saw Achimota

more of the nature of a university college than of a secondary school - as the stepping stone towards the university which it is the ardent desire of the Africans to have, and which it is the undoubted duty of the Government to take a share in giving as soon as, but not before, the time is ripe.<sup>75</sup>

On first being established in 1926 Achimota consisted only of the teacher training classes which had been transferred from the Government Training College, Accra. In 1927 kindergarten and lower primary classes were added and in 1929 upper primary, secondary and university classes. This meant that from 1930 there was at Achimota a complete educational ladder, from the kindergarten to university classes, with teacher training for both boys and girls. The university classes extended to the London University Intermediate standard in Arts, Science and Agriculture, to the first examination for Medical degrees, and to the final degree standard in Engineering. The teaching staff consisted predominantly of graduates from British universities.

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<sup>75</sup>F. H. Hilliard, op. cit., p. 88.



The institution was directly under Government control when it was first established. However, in 1930, it was given a constitution which established its autonomy and gave responsibility for its administration to a council on which both Government and non-Government representatives sat.

According to the constitution of the institution, provision was made for a quinquennial inspection by a committee. The committee which inspected the school in 1938 reported that between 1932 and 1937, thirty-two students passed out of the university classes.<sup>76</sup> These were made up as follows:

Engineering students	5
Medical students	3
Arts students	19
Science students	<u>5</u>
Total	<u>32</u>

In April, 1938, there were 679 pupils enrolled at Achimota. Of this number 232 were females and 447 males. They were divided into the following departments:<sup>77</sup>

Kindergarten	60 students
Lower Primary	90 students
Upper Primary	143 students
Secondary	180 students
Training College	152 students
University	32 students
Special Courses	<u>22 students</u>
Total	<u>679 students</u>

Despite good progress made, Achimota had several critics. People disapproved of the huge Government expenditure on the institution as well

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Gold Coast Annual Report, 1938, p. 81.





as its co-educational policy. The missionary groups considered it unwise to have both primary and secondary classes at Achimota; they suggested that students could attend the ordinary primary schools in the country and then enter Achimota later for the secondary course. Many other people felt that Achimota was too isolated from the educational life of the Gold Coast, and that if some of the large sums spent there had been used to raise the general level of all secondary institutions it would have resulted in benefits to a wider group of students.

However, as time went on, public opinion became more and more favourable to Achimota, and its increasing popularity was proved by the hundreds of students who applied for the few vacancies annually available. In fact, Achimota rapidly grew to become one of the best educational institutions in all Africa. It was largely on its graduates that the future development of the Gold Coast depended. Thus Governor Slater once made the following remark about his predecessor, Governor Guggisberg: "My predecessor's decision to create Achimota was an act of magnificent faith in the ultimate capacity of the African to govern himself."<sup>78</sup>

During World War II the kindergarten and lower primary departments of Achimota were dissolved, leaving only three separate units, namely, the School, the College and the Teacher Training College. These three departments made satisfactory progress after the War.

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<sup>78</sup>Legislative Council, Debates (1929), Governor's Address, p. 51.



However, the Training College was later removed to Kumasi College of Science and Technology after its establishment in 1952. The university classes did not eventually blossom into a full scale university as Guggisberg had envisaged. When the University College of the Gold Coast was established by an Ordinance of the Government in August, 1948, the university classes of Achimota were absorbed by the new University College.

The credit for Achimota's success goes largely to its first principal, Rev. A. G. Fraser, and to Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey, the vice-principal. These two men endeavoured to maintain Achimota's professed aim which was the combination of the best European education with the best in African culture. This idea was very close to the heart of Dr. Aggrey who constantly referred to it figuratively by emphasizing that harmonious music can be produced by playing both the black and white keys of the piano. Achimota's crest which is a reproduction of the black and white keys of the piano, is the crystallisation of this noble idea of European and African co-operation.

Education suffered serious setbacks as a result of the world slump in trade in the nineteen-thirties. The Gold Coast economy was crippled at this time. As already noted, the mainstay of the country's economy is cocoa from which the Government's revenue is predominantly derived. The world-wide depression caused the price of cocoa to fall from £ 50 a ton in 1929 to £ 20 in 1930.<sup>79</sup> This in turn reduced Government revenue from cocoa export duty and railway freights. The Government was compelled to cut its expenditure on all its departments since

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<sup>79</sup>H.O.A. McWilliam, op. cit., p. 63.





it could no longer balance its budget. Education suffered severely as a result of this official action. The cost of education in 1935 is shown in Table IV.

The Government reduced its expenditure on education from just over £300,000 in 1930 to £210,000 in 1933. It is significant that despite this action, the growing demand for education caused the enrolment in primary schools to rise from 53,000 to 88,000.<sup>80</sup> A further measure taken by the Government to reduce its educational expenditure was to halve the staff of the education department.

Teachers' salaries were reduced by the Government in 1931. To counteract this measure all the teachers in Assisted Schools came together in 1932 and organized themselves into the Assisted School Teachers Union. Later, the organization became the Gold Coast Teachers' Union, which succeeded in prevailing upon the Government to withdraw the cuts in the salaries. The union also succeeded later in securing unified salary scales and conditions of service for all teachers, whether employed by the Government or not, and a pensions' scheme for all teachers.

The slump of the nineteen-thirties was not completely dysfunctional in its effects on education. Lack of money from Government sources was an encouragement to private enterprise. Enterprising chiefs and other individuals opened many schools which were the forerunners of the present Local Authority schools. Such schools sprang from a desire to see schools under local rather than expatriate management.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.





TABLE IV

COST OF EDUCATION, 1935.

(Exclusive of Achimota College).

Type of Educational Institution.	1	Cost to Government.	2	Cost to other funds.	3	Total cost.	4	Average Attendance.	5	Approximate cost per head, 1935-36.	6	Approximate cost per head, 1934-35.	7
<i>Government (Colony and Ashanti).</i>			£	£		£				£		£	
Technical school	...	...	4,190	—	—	4,190		60		60.0		90.2	
Middle boarding schools	...	...	7,289	—	—	7,289		225		32.4		28.1	
Primary schools	...	...	30,949	—	—	30,949		6,132		7.2		7.1	
<i>Government (Northern Territories).</i>													
Primary schools	...	...	3,580	—	—	3,580		289		12.4		11.4	
<i>Missions (Colony and Ashanti).</i>													
Primary schools	...	...	109,907	45,177	45,177	154,844		30,002		4.3		4.6	
Secondary schools	...	...	3,443	12,667	12,667	16,110		484		33.3		25.7	
Training colleges	...	...	6,010	6,076	6,076	12,892		225		57.0		59.0	
<i>Missions (Northern Territories).</i>													
Primary schools	...	...	1,095	—	—	1,095		560		3.5		4.0	
Scholarships, etc.	...	...	2,076	—	—	2,076		—		—		—	
<b>Totals</b>	...	...	<b>176,711</b>	<b>63,820</b>	<b>63,820</b>	<b>240,531</b>		<b>43,043</b>		<b>—</b>		<b>—</b>	

Source: Gold Coast Colony: Report on the Education Department for the year 1935-36. Government Printer, Accra, 1936, Page 16.



The moving spirit behind this principle was J. E. Casely Hayford. As president of the National Congress of British West Africa, he made the following statement in 1929:

We are grateful to the Missionary bodies for what they have done in the past in the matter of African education. We are also grateful to Government. But it is obvious that we cannot forever remain babes and sucklings and yet complain when our destiny is being decided for us by others. History tells us how other peoples have risen to nationhood, to economic security and power. We must tread the same path if we would see salvation as a people; and that path is primarily educational. We have our ideals; we have our interests to safeguard; we have our line of evolution, and we cannot afford to leave them in the hands of others to manipulate them for us. There must be an educational awakening throughout West Africa greater than any time in African history, and when this pentecost breaks in upon us, we shall begin to tread the sure path to national emancipation.<sup>81</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that the slump directly led to the founding of Accra Academy. In order to reduce expenditure, some teachers on the staff at Achimota School had been retrenched. K. G. Konuah was one of these unfortunate victims of the drastic action. Nevertheless, he founded a new secondary school, Accra Academy, over which he presided for the next twenty years. This school has flourished to this day.

During the slump years of the nineteen-thirties the Government was disturbed by the growing number of schools qualifying for Government assistance. Therefore, in 1936, the Government was forced to stop any further additions of schools to the "assisted list" on the grounds that a continued increase would result in a disproportionately large

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-66.





part of the total revenue being spent on education, to the detriment of other services. Also the Government felt that it was time to hold a general review of the country's educational policy. As a result the Education Committee of 1937 was appointed.

The Committee consisted of four Africans and four Europeans. It comprised representatives of the Education Department, the Missions, Achimota College, the Gold Coast Teachers' Union and two leading citizens, Nana Sir Ofori Atta and Sir Arku Korsah. It met at intervals during 1937, 1938 and 1939, but partly owing to World War II it did not produce its report until the end of 1941.

The Committee made a number of recommendations<sup>82</sup> the most significant of which related to the establishment of a Central Advisory Committee. Hitherto the planning of educational policy had been the responsibility of the Board of Education, but this was virtually part of the Legislative Council, and so its members would not be able to give sufficient time to purely educational matters. Therefore, on the committee's advice the Governor set up the Central Advisory Committee on Education. There have been changes in its constitution from time to time. It comprised twenty-one members on 1957. The chairman was nominated by The Minister of Education and the following were members: the Chief Education Officer, representatives of the churches, regional interests and the teaching profession. The Minister had power to appoint additional members whose advice should, in his opinion, be

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<sup>82</sup>See F. H. Hilliard, op. cit., pp. 99-100.



sought. The Central Advisory Committee was abolished in 1959 (see page 142). Before its abolition it suggested a large number of useful reforms which have been accepted by the Government. It also provided a means by which the Government could get to know professional and public opinion on any educational changes it proposed.

Between 1940 and 1944 the number of pupils on the rolls of Government and assisted schools increased from 61,000 to 113,431. Further increases occurred later. In fact, a survey conducted by the Education Department just after World War II revealed that several small primary schools had been opened in the rural areas on the initiative of the people themselves, and without any official permission. Many of these schools were badly housed, equipped and staffed. The enrolment in such unauthorized rural schools was approximately 30,000 in 1945. The surveys revealed that there were no less than 2,018 non-assisted schools in being.<sup>83</sup> Despite the poor quality of teaching in such schools, their rapidly increasing numbers was a positive indication of the people's general enthusiasm to satisfy their desire for education. Of course, such unchecked primary school development was completely contrary to that ordered development contemplated in the 1937-41 Education Committee's report, and drastic steps had to be taken from 1947 onwards both to meet the demand it had created and also to control it.

It may also be noted that in this period the Government gave a little assistance to local authorities to enable them to develop schools

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 100-101.





in their areas. The sum of £25,000 was provided by the Government to augment the funds which the local authorities could devote to the provision of new primary schools and the importance of existing ones. In 1943-44 the local authorities themselves were able to contribute £25,000 to education. This figure represents between eight and nine percent of their revenue and shows the growing importance which the people attached to education.<sup>84</sup>

In concluding this chapter on the colonial pattern of education in the Gold Coast the following observations may be made. The Colonial Government undoubtedly prepared the ground for further educational developments as evidenced by the work of Governor Guggisberg. However, it cannot be denied that no comprehensive national system of education was devised by the Government, nor was the education provided effectively related to the needs and conditions of the country. The Government's participation in the running of schools was necessarily minimal since it had to concern itself mainly with administration. The credit of opening and managing most of the educational institutions goes to the missions. The Government, on its part, paid grants-in-aid for the maintenance of all approved institutions and also made provision for their periodical inspection. However, there was no official policy standardizing the curriculum in secondary schools and training colleges; the institutions were free to work this out themselves within reasonable limits.

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 102.





It is also worth noting that despite the widespread hardship caused by the world economic depression and the second world war resulting in Government's reduction of educational expenditure, the general enthusiasm for education was steadily maintained as evidenced by the opening of several unauthorized schools. This sustained enthusiasm contributed to the further growth of education during the next phase of the country's educational development.



## CHAPTER II

### THE INDEPENDENCE PATTERN, 1951 - 1961

#### Cultural Background: Political, Social, Economic

Political. Under the British colonial regime, the Gold Coast had been ruled by a British Governor assisted by an Executive Council as well as a Legislative Council. The Governor nominated members to both councils. He had extensive powers as well as complete control over the legislature because members of the Legislative Council generally had to vote in accordance with his declared policy.

In 1948 violent social and political upheavals in the country resulted in constitutional reforms. Three main grievances accounted for the upheavals. The first concerned the cocoa industry which was being threatened by swollen shoot, a virus disease which caused the destruction of several thousands of cocoa trees. Research conducted at the West African Cocoa Research Institute, Tafo, had shown that an effective cure for the disease was the wholesale cutting-out of the diseased trees. In order to save the industry the Government ordered the Agricultural Department to embark on a compulsory nationwide cutting-out campaign. This met with stiff opposition from the farmers who believed that the Colonial Government had sinister motives behind the campaign.





The second grievance arose from the price inflation with which the country's economy was saddled. Cocoa prices were high so that there was plenty of money in the country, but there was little to spend it on. This was natural in view of the shortage of imported manufactured goods occurring in the post-war period. Prices rocketed high and the black market flourished, resulting in widespread discontent. Here too the British Colonial Government came under suspicion. There was the general feeling that the European firms were deliberately keeping prices high so as to recompense themselves for the high prices they had to pay for Gold Coast cocoa; and there were dark suspicions that the Government was in some way acting in collusion with the European firms.

These grievances and murmurs of discontent were aggravated by the anger of the demobilized Gold Coast soldiers. These soldiers returning from service in Abyssinia and Burma where they had lived under different and better conditions, felt it frustrating to return to their former humble positions. By reason of their contacts with other peoples such as Europeans and Japanese, the demobilized soldiers had broadened their outlook and developed a political and national consciousness. Writing about the demobilized soldiers, Metcalfe makes the following remarks:

The fact that they were disappointed with conditions on their return, either from specious promises made before demobilization or a general expectancy of a golden age for heroes, made them the natural focal point for any general movement against authority.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, Great Britain and Ghana, Documents of Ghana History, 1807-1957, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1964, p. 682.



The grievances over demobilization, the compulsory cutting out of diseased cocoa trees and the high cost of living naturally built up tension which resulted in an explosion. On January 26, 1948, there was a boycott of imported European goods throughout the country. Also on February 28 the demobilized soldiers marched toward the Governor's castle to present their grievances to him personally. They were fired upon by the Governor's bodyguard who killed two and wounded five. The news flashed into the principal cities and people reacted immediately by rioting, looting European shops and breaking open prisons to set the prisoners free.

The United Gold Coast Convention, the chief opposition party at the time, felt that these incidents provided a good opportunity for demanding self-government from the British Colonial Office. Accordingly the Convention despatched a telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies demanding that a constituent assembly be summoned and an interim Government formed by the United Gold Coast Convention. However, under the Governor's emergency powers, the six leaders of the Convention including Dr. Danquah and Kwame Nkrumah, were arrested and imprisoned. The British Government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Aiken Watson, K.C., to enquire into the disturbances and to make recommendations.

The Report of the Watson Commission<sup>2</sup> noted that the causes of the disturbances were political, social and economic. Its main recommendations

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<sup>2</sup>Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances of the Gold Coast, London: H.M.S.O., 1948.





were: (i) that there should be further constitutional advances and a reorganization of local government, (ii) that the Government should establish an effective system of public relations, and (iii) that there should be a great speeding up of educational advance.

On constitutional development the Commission suggested that the existing British Colonial Government should continue for some time before self-government was granted to the country. It entertained the fear that the country's illiterate majority would be easily exploited by the small literate minority who would naturally control political power.

The Colonial Office in London agreed with the principles underlying the Commission's proposals and approved the appointment of another commission to recommend further constitutional reforms. In January, 1949, an all-African Committee, under the chairmanship of Justice Henley Coussey began drawing up a new constitution which would satisfy African desires.

The Coussey Committee proposed a bi-cameral legislature with an upper house of 38 members, and a lower house of 78 members of whom three should be officials, the remainder being elected. An alternative proposal put forward by the committee was a unicameral legislature in which one-third of the seats were to be filled by members elected by the territorial councils of chiefs; two representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Mines would sit and there would be three officials; the remainder would be elected. The Government favoured the unicameral legislature.





According to the Committee, it was necessary to change the Executive. The Executive Council at that time was of the traditional type, with five senior British officials and two nominated African representatives. The Committee proposed that the Governor should continue to be the chairman but that the Executive should now comprise eleven members in addition to the Governor. Of the eleven members three were to be officials, the remaining eight Africans, all of them with ministerial responsibility.

It may be noted here that the political upheaval in 1948 led to the founding of the Ghana Schools and Colleges. As general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.), Kwame Nkrumah constantly condemned imperialism and the educational system in the Gold Coast. He believed that the whole educational system as it existed needed drastic overhauling because it was one made to support a foreign Government and not to train a free people to live as men.

Nkrumah stated these views strongly in an article entitled "Education in a Slave State" in a Gold Coast newspaper as follows:

It is in the sphere of education that you see Imperialism almost at its worst. Education is the greatest liberating force, and the Imperialists are not blind to see it; thus it is not hard to find out the artificial barriers that obstruct the progress of education. There is no free country or State of any note where education is not only free but compulsory too, up to the age of about 16 years; but when you come to slave, dependent or colonial territories generally, education is not only far from being free, let alone compulsory, but the people crave for it and cannot get it. The Gold Coast today is a case in point..... Children cry to go to school but cry in vain, for there is no accommodation for them.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Accra Evening News, March 19, 1949, Accra. Cited by Bankole Timothy, Kwame Nkrumah: His Rise to Power, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955, pp. 88-89.



The imprisonment of the six leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.) in 1948 led some students and teachers in secondary schools to go on strike in protest against the Government's action. The headmasters of the schools concerned took disciplinary action against the culprits by dismissing them.

The dismissal of the students created a problem for Nkrumah since they refused to accept admission to other secondary schools. As a result Nkrumah and a number of people in the country took the decision to establish a National Secondary School "free from the vexations and retrogressive influence of the Missions and especially the Government."<sup>4</sup>

The Ghana National College at Cape Coast was thus opened in 1949. Over a dozen more schools were opened soon afterwards in other parts of the country. Most of them flourished and were taken over by the Government. Later they came under the management of the Ghana Educational Trust when it was formed soon after Independence in 1957.

In June, 1949, while the Coussey Committee was still sitting, Kwame Nkrumah broke away from the United Gold Coast Convention and formed his own political party, the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.), to agitate for immediate self-government.

In connection with the 1951 general elections, the C.P.P. prepared an elaborate manifesto in which it outlined its program for revolutionizing the political, social and economic life of the country.

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<sup>4</sup>Bankole Timothy, op. cit., p. 90.







On education the manifesto stated:

The country needs a unified system of education with free and compulsory elementary, secondary and technical education up to the age of 16 years..... The Party will bring the University College to a full university status at once..... The Party lays special importance on Adult Education and will see to it that a planned campaign to liquidate illiteracy from this country in the shortest possible time is rigorously undertaken.....<sup>5</sup>

As a result of their victory, Nkrumah and his C.P.P. colleagues came straight out of jail to take their seats on the Executive Council. Nkrumah as head of the Government was called the Leader of Government Business. The year 1951 is significant in that the Government was now almost wholly in the hands of African leaders, although complete political independence had not been granted.

In 1952, the British Government announced that the Leader of Government Business should be renamed Prime Minister and the Executive Council renamed the Cabinet. Accordingly, Kwame Nkrumah was elected Prime Minister by the Legislative Assembly on March 21, 1952.

In 1954, a new constitution was promulgated which provided for a Legislative Assembly of a Speaker and 104 members, all of them elected on party lines. The Cabinet was to consist of at least eight members of the Assembly and chosen by the Prime Minister. Thus Nkrumah had secured the all-African, all-party Cabinet he desired. Nevertheless, the new constitution fell short of full political independence because the Governor still had certain reserved powers. This state of affairs, however, was temporary, because three years later, on March 6, 1957, the

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<sup>5</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 706.



British Government granted complete political independence to the Gold Coast, which became the sovereign state of Ghana on that date.

The Ghana Parliament comprised 104 members, the Convention Peoples' Party being in the majority with 80 members as against the 24 members composing the opposition, the United Party. The cabinet comprised 14 Ghanaian ministers including Kwame Nkrumah as the Prime Minister. Among the aims of the Nkrumah Government were (1) the rapid development of the country into a modern state, (2) the strengthening of its own position and (3) the liberation of African colonies as well as the formation of a united states of Africa.

After independence the Government began showing signs of wishing to concentrate power in its hands. This began with a Deportation Act which empowered the Government to expel non-Ghanaians whose presence was considered inimical to the interests of the country. Soon after this came a Preventive Detention Act under which Ghanaians could be arrested and detained without any charges being preferred against them. Then the Government passed a severer law against treason and sedition, with the death penalty for treason and long-term imprisonment for sedition.

In 1960, when the country adopted the republican constitution, power was fully concentrated in the Government's hands. Under the constitution Kwame Nkrumah as President was granted the power of legislating by decrees which could override any Act of Parliament. There was no Prime Minister; the President himself presided at cabinet meetings.





In September, 1962, a motion for a one-party state was made and seconded in the Legislative Assembly by C.P.P. members. Despite objections by opposition members, it was eventually adopted by the Assembly which also adopted another motion conferring on Kwame Nkrumah the presidency for life. In February, 1964, Ghana became a one-party state, dominated by the Convention Peoples' Party and with Nkrumah as life President. This, of course, meant that the opposition party was completely eliminated.

Nkrumah established a personal rule and with the assistance of his C.P.P. spread his influence into the whole fabric of the society. In the field of traditional government his influence was equally felt. He believed that the chiefs had no special part to play in the central legislature. By the Chieftaincy Act and the Local Government Act of 1961, the chiefs were excluded from the work of modern local government and limited to their traditional functions.

On the international scene, Nkrumah was equally anxious to make his influence felt. He was intensely dedicated to the cause of African Unity or pan-Africanism. In April, 1958, the first Conference of Independent African States<sup>6</sup> was held in Accra, Ghana. At this conference a joint declaration was issued by the leaders who pledged themselves to "assert an African Personality"<sup>7</sup> in the world. In December,

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<sup>6</sup>Ethiopia, Sudan, the UAR, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia, Ghana.

<sup>7</sup>Dennis Austin, Politics in Ghana 1946-1960, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 396.





the first All-African Peoples' Conference assembled in Accra bringing together nationalist leaders from colonial territories as well as the independent states. At this conference resolutions were adopted to liberate African colonies and bring about a United States of Africa. A permanent secretariat was established in Accra for this purpose.

Meanwhile in November a Ghana-Guinea Union had been established to which the Mali republic was drawn later at the end of 1960. In July, 1961, the three republics issued a Charter setting out fourteen articles of a Union of African States as the nucleus of the United States of Africa. Austin remarks:

Nkrumah's election as President of Ghana and the opening months of the Republic thus coincided with a great stirring of African hopes, and Ghana was in the forefront of a new pan-Africanism firmly placed in Africa itself.<sup>8</sup>

Social. The years after the Second World War saw some new social developments particularly in the field of education. Advances were made between 1945 and 1951 but the most significant developments occurred with the advent of the Nkrumah Government in 1951. When the Convention People's Party came into power in 1951, it was compelled to satisfy the urgent demand for education by accelerating the pace of the pre-1951 schemes. Nkrumah's Government considered it politically advantageous to introduce immediate fee-free primary education which would eventually be made compulsory. The Accelerated Development Plan will be examined fully in a later section.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



Other educational developments in the post-war period included the development of a program of extra-mural studies as an integral wing of the University College of the Gold Coast. An organization was developed with regular weekly classes held in towns and villages all over the country in such subjects as politics, economics, English, international affairs and history. In addition there were short residential courses at the University College during vacations.

It is worth mentioning that the change in British colonial policy after the War contributed to the social and political development of the country. The Colonial Office became increasingly concerned with the problem of educating the people of the colonies for citizenship in the modern world. At a meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies held on March 1, 1946, it was decided to set up a sub-committee on Education for Citizenship with the following terms of reference:

To study the technique needed to prepare for responsibility, and examine generally the problem of building up a sense of public responsibility, tolerance and objectivity in discussion and practice, and an appreciation of political institutions, their evolution and progress.<sup>9</sup>

The sub-committee stated in its report that constitutional advance, culminating in responsible self-government, was a necessary consequence of advances in general education. It was a question of improving the education provided so as to give a conscious preparation

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<sup>9</sup>Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Education for Citizenship in Africa, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948, Colonial No. 216, p. 3.







for citizenship, of passing on to the Colonial peoples as much as might be possible of Britain's own political experience, in order that government of the Colonial peoples by the people and for the people might be a real thing. With all the emphasis at its disposal, the sub-committee stated:

The advance towards political freedom will not and must not be delayed. But if political freedom is to benefit all the people and not merely the favoured few, then all the people must be guided to use it for the common good. This is the task of education.<sup>10</sup>

This changed attitude on the part of Britain was a healthy one, and contributed to expediting the process of social and political development in the Gold Coast.

The 1960 population census of Ghana gave the total population of the country as 6,726,820 made up of 3,400,270 males and 3,326,550 females.<sup>11</sup> In respect of school attendance, census questionnaires were circulated to find out how many people were currently attending school. The Census Report gives the following results:

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<sup>10</sup> ibid., p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ghana: 1960 Population Census of Ghana, Advance Report of Volumes III and IV, Accra: Census Office, 1962, p. 1, Table 1.



TABLE V  
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF PERSONS AGED SIX YEARS AND OVER<sup>12</sup>

		<u>Male</u>		
	Total	Never	Past	Present
	2,644,610	1,675,420	478,220	490,970
Percentage	100	63.4	18.1	18.5
		<u>Female</u>		
	2,555,510	2,120,050	188,410	247,050
Percentage	100	82.9	7.4	9.7

The survey revealed that by 1960, that is three years after independence, as much as 63 percent of the male population who could have gone to school had never received any formal education, and that only 18 percent were receiving education at the time. In the case of females the picture was even less favourable, because 83 percent of females who could have gone to school had never received any formal education and only 10 percent were attending school. This picture represents the situation for the country as a whole.

Considering the problem from the regional point of view, the survey showed that the population of Northern Ghana was the most poorly educated. Of all the persons aged six and over who could have gone to school in 1960, under ten percent actually received any education.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Table 14, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup>Ghana: 1960 Population Census of Ghana, Atlas of Population Characteristics, Accra: Survey of Ghana & Census Office, 1964, p. 19.





This was due primarily to the general backwardness of the area which lacks economic resources and is consequently generally poverty-stricken. In Ashanti and Southern Ghana the situation is much better. Of all the persons aged six and over who could have gone to school in 1960, over twenty percent actually received education (See Appendix III). The percentage in the large urban centres like Accra, Sekondi-Takoradi, Kumasi and Koforidua was about 65 percent. This is due to the greater degree of economic and social development in these centres.

The Survey also showed that of all past school attendants who were males, 0.8 percent had received university education, 2.1 percent had been trained as teachers and 5.3 percent had received university education, 1.9 percent had been trained as teachers and 2.8 percent had received secondary education.<sup>14</sup> It is characteristic of Ghana's educational system that the education of girls lags behind that of boys. This is due partly to the traditional attitude that the woman's place is the home. Sooner or later marriage compels some girls to discontinue their education even at the primary and middle school levels.

Economic. Ghana is predominantly an agricultural country. It has been shown already that cocoa is the chief export of the country and the main source of income to both the Government and a large percentage of the country's population.

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<sup>14</sup>Ghana: 1960 Population Census, Advance Report, op. cit., p. 28.





Up to the time of World War II the marketing of Gold Coast cocoa had been in the hands of private European firms. In 1937 these firms, with the aim of exploiting the natives, had banded together in a monopoly to control the cocoa market in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria. This led to the "cocoa hold-up" in which the farmers of the Gold Coast refused to sell the cocoa. This problem of marketing as well as that of the widely fluctuating cocoa prices on the world market, compelled the Government to establish the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board in 1947. This board exists today under the name, Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board. It fixes the price which shall be paid to the farmer. "By limiting this price within a narrow range, no matter how high the world price may go, the Board has been able to accumulate very substantial reserves which amounted to over £53,000,000 in 1958."<sup>15</sup> These reserves were used partly to stabilize the cocoa price by enabling the Board to pay a fairly steady price to the farmer no matter how low the world price might drop. Partly also, the reserves were used for the rehabilitation of the cocoa industry including aid to diseased farms and expenditure on research. Later, however, the Board began giving grants for various purposes of general benefit to cocoa farmers or to the cocoa industry as a whole. For instance, the Board has supplied scholarship funds for the children of cocoa farmers to study in local and overseas educational institutions, and also donated £3,000,000<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>F. M. Bourret, Ghana, The Road to Independence, 1919-1957, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960, p. 204.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 205.



to the University of Ghana. One of the halls of residence at the University of Ghana today has been named "Akufo Hall", meaning Farmers' Hall, in commemoration of the cocoa farmers' contribution to the development of higher education in the country.

The period 1949-54 was one of prosperity during which the Government strengthened its financial position. The following statistics showing the country's trade and revenue depict the prosperous trend in the country's economy:

GOLD COAST TRADE AND REVENUE, 1946-1954<sup>17</sup>

Year	Imports £	Exports £	Revenue £
1947	22,589,690	27,414,959	10,245,618
1948	31,378,050	56,114,722	11,639,324
1949	45,416,037	49,927,114	18,106,495
1950	48,128,966	77,406,944	20,861,032
1951	63,793,420	91,990,397	30,764,463
1952	66,610,551	86,376,783	42,510,072
1953	73,802,866	89,943,265	49,942,397
1954	71,050,343	114,594,590	80,567,534

The year of prosperity was, therefore, 1954, thanks to the upward swing in the cocoa export trade. The export of gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese and timber also contributed to this prosperity. The sound financial position enabled the Government to finance various social and economic projects in the post-war period.

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<sup>17</sup>G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 752.







For a long time, the Government had been disturbed by the economy's predominantly monocultural aspect, namely, the wholesale dependence on cocoa as the main source of national revenue. The fear was that a serious slump in the world cocoa price could easily cripple the country's economy and thus bring the Government's development program to a sudden halt. Furthermore, a serious widespread attack of cocoa disease such as the swollen shoot could wipe out the industry overnight. Therefore, the Government had been considering the possibility of diversifying the economy by establishing manufacturing industries. It was decided to harness the River Volta to produce hydro-electricity for smelting the country's bauxite deposits into aluminum and also for various other manufacturing industries.

The estimated total cost of the Volta River Project was £309 million. The project entailed the construction of a large dam on the River Volta at Akosombo to impound the water into an artificial lake to produce power for aluminum smelting and various other industries.

During the 1955-57 period cocoa prices dropped and led to the country's first experience of an unfavourable trade balance. As a result Ghana entered her first year of independence with a weaker financial position than she had known in the early 1950's. On the eve of independence (March 5, 1957), the Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah clarified the country's economic position in a speech in the Legislative Assembly. The Government had originally intended to begin its second development plan in July 1957; however, following the reduced



revenue, it was compelled to replace it with a Consolidated Plan which would extend for only two years and would involve a much smaller financial outlay than the original plan.<sup>18</sup>

During 1961, the world cocoa price fell sharply to catch the Government unawares at a time when it was heavily committed on development expenditure. The general position of the cocoa trade during these years is shown in the following table which reveals the sharp fall in world cocoa price during 1961:

TABLE VI  
COCOA PRODUCTION IN GHANA, 1956-1961<sup>19</sup>

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	1960-1
'000 long tons	264	207	255	317	430
Percent of world production	29.6	26.9	28.4	30.6	37.2

WORLD COCOA PRICE, 1949-61  
(£ per ton)

1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
190	208	285	301	287	467	302	221	247	352	285	225	177

<sup>18</sup>The recovery of cocoa prices at the end of 1957 made it possible to go ahead with preparations for the 1959-64 development plan costing £300 million. See Bourret, *op. cit.*, p. 219, footnote 2.

<sup>19</sup>Dennis Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 362. Cited from Ghana Economic Survey 1962, Table 7, p. 24; Table 8, p. 25.





A large increase in Government expenditure inevitably resulted from the President's excessive enthusiasm to force the pace of economic and social development. To Nkrumah it was not sufficient to overthrow colonialism. It was equally necessary to overthrow what he called neo-colonialism, that is, the economic dominance of the West in Africa. He believed that Ghana would not be truly free as long as she earned foreign currency mainly by exporting raw materials, imported most of her manufactured goods from abroad and employed large numbers of foreign staff owing to lack of qualified Ghanaians. It was necessary for Ghana to stand on her feet and compete with the West on equal terms. It was this policy which compelled the Government to embark on large schemes of education and training of all kinds, of developing transport and communication, health facilities as well as hydro-electric power through the Volta River Project.

As a result of this policy the economy came under severe pressure after 1960, both internally and externally. The following table shows that a large part of the financial difficulty that overtook the country in 1961 was caused by the sharp increase in spending on the part of the Government itself:





TABLE VII  
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE IN GHANA 1956-1961<sup>20</sup>  
(£ M)

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	1960-1
Capital Expenditure	19.1	19.0	27.3	34.6	44.5
Consumption Expenditure	38.8	38.1	44.5	49.3	65.5
Financial Claims, Interest in transfers abroad	2.6	6.7	6.6	4.1	3.6
Total	60.5	63.7	78.3	88.0	113.7

The crippling of the economy in 1961 led the Government to introduce a harsh budget in mid-July. Increased duties were levied on consumer goods in order to raise additional revenue. A new system of purchase tax was introduced as well as a compulsory savings scheme whereby a levy of five percent was deducted from all salaried and wage incomes over £120 per annum. Coupled with these developments, prices rose sharply, thus causing a fall in the net incomes of farmers and workers. This situation inevitably led to a major strike in September among the railway and harbour workers in Sekondi-Takoradi, who demanded among other things "that our Republican Constitution should be abolished and that we should go back to the system of having a Governor-General....."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 365.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 401.



### The Development Plans

When the Convention People's Party came into office in 1951, a ten-year development plan had already been prepared by the Colonial Government. The financial allocation in the 1951 Ten-Year Development Plan for the four broad categories was as follows:<sup>22</sup>

	£	Percentage of Total
Economic and Productive Services	12,444,000	16.9
Communications	26,110,000	35.3
Social Services	24,542,000	33.1
Common Services-Administration	<u>10,896,000</u>	14.8
Planned Total Investment	<u>73,992,000</u>	

Soon after the launching of the Plan the Government decided that it should be implemented in five years. Accordingly, the Ten-Year Plan was transformed into a Five-Year Plan. The aim was to develop the country in the shortest possible time. In this respect the new Government recognized the great importance of education as the key to the economic, social and political development of the emerging nation. Economically, improved educational facilities would produce the qualified manpower needed to tap the country's varied resources, raising productivity to the level which would increase national income to ensure general prosperity. Socially, education would improve the standard of living as well as social relations so that the population would

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<sup>22</sup>W. Birmingham, A Study of Contemporary Ghana, The Economy of Ghana, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966, Vol. I, p. 442.





have an enlightened outlook and participate more intelligently in all aspects of the country's life. Politically, education was necessary in promoting the climate necessary for the growth of modern nationalism; also education would assist in effecting the process of political socialization, that is, the process by which people acquire attitudes and feelings towards the political system and toward their role in it, as well as what they know about it and their sense of political competence. The young emerging nation was soon to join the already developed nations of the world and should therefore learn to function with a modern political system. Such a system depends on a modern communications system which education alone can develop. Mass literacy and the development of attitudes compatible with modernization do ensure the effective political penetration by Government as well as meaningful citizenship. Obviously where there is mass illiteracy, a Government cannot effectively reach out to the people, nor can the people play an intelligent and effective role as citizens of their nation.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, the new Government drew up an accelerated development plan for education. The Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951, contained the following objectives to be attained, if possible by 1957:<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>For a full treatment of the subject "Education and Political Development", see James S. Coleman, ed., Education and Political Development, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.

<sup>24</sup>African Education, A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, Produced on behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office by Charles Batey, University Press, Oxford 1953, p. 52.



- (1) Primary Schools in Ashanti and the Colony are to be developed to provide places for 405,000 children as against the enrolment for 1950 of 212,000. Teachers are to be increased in number from 6,900 to 13,500. Recurrent costs for primary education in 1950 were £207,500 plus grants of 415,000 from provincial funds to Native Authorities. The total recurrent cost to Government in 1957 is estimated at £1,279,000, being 60 percent of teachers' salaries. No fees are to be charged. Capital costs will fall on local authorities except for a grant of £200,000 in the first two years to the four municipalities. (Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Tamale)
- (2) Middle Schools in Ashanti and the Colony are to be developed to provide places for 240,000 children as against the enrolment for 1950 of 60,000. Teachers are to be increased in number from 2,044 to 4,667. Recurrent costs for middle schools in 1950 were £301,000 and in 1957 will become £517,480, that is, the cost of teachers' salaries less fees. Capital costs are to be a local charge unless funds are available for Government grants.
- (3) Secondary Schools will be increased to afford 7,910 places as against the present 2,216. Recurrent costs will increase from £62,440 to £461,400 (after allowing £86,280 from fees). Capital costs, all from Government, amount to £2,565,000.
- (4) Teacher Training will be increased to provide for 3,500 students plus 480 in emergency colleges as against the present 1,640. Recurrent costs increase from £109,180 to £696,800; there will be no tuition fees and salaries and cost-of-living allowances will be paid during training. Capital costs will be £2,740,000.
- (5) Technical Education: the plan provides for increasing technical secondary places from 190 to 1,200 and places at trade centres from 296 to 480 and for developing technical institutes. Recurrent costs increase from £28,172 to £216,240 Capital costs will be £1,192,750.
- (6) Northern Territories are catered for separately. The recurrent costs in Government institutions will increase from £30,000 in 1950 to £70,000 in 1960 with a capital cost of £367,500. Grants to local authorities will increase from £25,700 to 1950 to £170,470 in 1960 with a capital cost of £533,500.
- (7) Administration will involve an increase in recurrent costs from £341,145 to £458,050 and a capital expenditure of £550,000.
- (8) Scholarships and Bursaries, now £223,270 for secondary and higher education, will be increased by the allocation of £1 million from the Development Fund over a period of the plan.





It was estimated that the cumulative total recurrent cost of the plan to Government would rise from £1,105,137 in 1950 to £3,804,500 in 1957, excluding scholarships; the capital cost for building and equipment was estimated at £8,148,750.

In order to have enough teachers to implement the scheme arrangements were made for the hundreds of pupil teachers employed to receive some form of training. The pupil teachers constituted the bulk of the teaching personnel. They were generally holders of the Standard Seven or Middle School Leaving Certificate. Even seven years later in 1958, the total number of these pupil teachers was 9,924 out of the country's total teaching staff establishment of 21,321,<sup>25</sup> the ratio being approximately 1:2. To remedy this undesirable situation an Emergency Training Scheme was launched for these unqualified teachers. The training took four forms. The first was a system of Saturday morning classes in which pupil teachers received instruction in English and arithmetic and the making of apparatus. The second was a system of evening classes in which head-teachers assisted pupil teachers in preparing their lessons. The third was a series of vacation courses, a week or ten days long. The fourth was a residential six week course held in new emergency training colleges.

The demand for teachers was heavy, because the abolition of school fees in the primary schools led to an unprecedented scale of

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<sup>25</sup> Ghana Education Statistics 1958, Accra: Office of the Government Statistician, August, 1958, p. 4, Table 3.





enrolment. In January, 1952, approximately 130,000 pupils were admitted to Primary Class I which represented over double the entry figure for 1951.<sup>26</sup> The admission of such a large number taxed the initiative and energies of the Education Department staff and head teachers to the utmost, and it was achieved only by dint of much improvisation.

Measures were adopted to attract teachers. One such measure was to allow them to draw salaries while in training as if on study leave. The other was to give all students who completed the first two-year course for Certificate B a chance to earn a further two-year course for Certificate A after a period in the field. Previously the Certificate B course had been frowned upon as being inferior.

Arrangements were made for the Institute of Education at the University College of the Gold Coast to assist the Education Department by producing new syllabuses for the primary and middle schools in order to make the courses more stimulating and valuable. In addition research was conducted into the teaching of English and an earlier transition to the use of English as a medium of instruction was made in the middle of the primary course with the aim of making the pupils permanently literate in both English and a vernacular by the end of the sixth year.

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<sup>26</sup>The figure for 1951 was 60,000. See E. D. Roberts, "Emergency Teacher Training in the Gold Coast," Oversea Education, 28, 2, July, 1956, p. 76.



It has already been indicated that the 1951 Ten-Year Development Plan was shortened to a Five-Year Plan by the C.P.P. Government. By June 1957, this five-year plan had been substantially completed. Instead of introducing another development plan, the Government decided to regard the first two years after independence as a period of consolidation. Thus 1957-1959 was spent in a tidying-up operation as well as in preparation for a new Five-Year Development Plan to cover the period 1959-1964.

This second Five-Year Development Plan was launched by the Prime Minister on March 4, 1959. In his speech at the opening of the debate on the motion approving the Second Development Plan, the Prime Minister made the following remarks about education:

Education remains of paramount importance to us. We must generate a new dynamic force behind our educational policy, and ensure that it is geared to our future economic and industrial development. Among other things, the new plan provides for a vitally important programme of secondary education. I look forward to the establishment of a fully fledged University in Ghana not later, I hope, than 1961, which, amongst many other things, would enable us to pursue with confidence post-graduate work in science and technology.<sup>27</sup>

A detailed list of projects under the Second Development Plan is shown in the following summary:

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<sup>27</sup>Ghana: Parliamentary Debates, Official Report First Series  
Volume 14, 19th February to 20th March 1959, Accra: Government  
Printer, p. 198.





TABLE VIII  
SECOND DEVELOPMENT PLAN: DETAILED LIST OF PROJECTS<sup>28</sup>

Project	Total Plan	For Immediate Implementation
	£ 000	£ 000
1. Agriculture	24,668	10,425
2. Industry and Trade	25,331	15,418
3. Electricity	8,765	7,000
4. Communications	53,010	28,679
5. Local and Regional Government	18,852	9,220
6. Education	27,852	14,150
7. Broadcasting and Information	2,677	1,693
8. Housing	17,000	7,093
9. Health, Sanitation and Water Supplies	43,650	19,675
10. Police and Prisons	7,677	4,786
11. Miscellaneous	<u>13,684</u>	<u>7,718</u>
Total	243,166	125,857

Education benefited considerably under the Plan. The allocation of £14.2 million for immediate expenditure on education represented about eleven percent of the total investment expenditure. The provisions of the Plan as regards primary and middle education, teacher training, secondary, technical and higher education, are shown in the following table:

<sup>28</sup>Ghana: The Second Five Year Development Plan, 1959, Accra: Government Printer, 1959, p. 63.



TABLE IX  
FINANCIAL PROVISION FOR EDUCATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT, 1959-1964<sup>29</sup>

	Total Plan	For Immediate Implementation
General	£ 4,881	£ 1,421
Secondary	15,000	7,000
Technical	9,960	1,500
University College	2,500	1,800
College of Technology	2,456	1,800
Assistance to Statutory Board	1,055	629
Total	£ 27,852	£ 14,150

The two academic years, from September 1960 to August 1962, were the most eventful in the history of education Ghana. That period saw the introduction of the scheme for fee-free compulsory education (at the primary and middle levels), a great expansion in secondary education and development of the University College of Ghana and Kumasi College of Technology into fully fledged universities. Simultaneously, the Education Act of 1961 gave legal effect to many aspects of the educational revolution that had been taking place recently in the country.

Up to July 1, 1960, when Ghana became a Republic, there was no single law for education. The Education (Southern Ghana and Ashanti) Ordinance, 1925, and Education (Northern and Upper Regions) Ordinance, 1927, were in force up to 1960. With the introduction of fee-free

<sup>29</sup>Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report for the years 1958-1960 (January, 1958 to August, 1960), Accra: Govt. Printing Department, 1962, p. 8.





compulsory primary and middle education, it became necessary to have a single legislation applicable to the whole country.

The following are some of the most important features of the Education Act of 1961: 1) that primary education be compulsory, 2) that a terms of service committee be established to advise the Minister of Education on the salaries and conditions of service of teachers, 3) that the local authorities become local education authorities with responsibility for the building, equipment and maintenance of all public primary and middle schools in their areas.<sup>30</sup>

### The Educational System

The decade 1951-1961 saw many developments in the educational system. Education was organized on a national level with the needs of the emerging nation in view. Under the Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951, school fees were abolished in all primary schools throughout the country in order to attract every child to school. The Education Act of 1961 made it compulsory for every pupil to attend school. Also several developments took place in secondary, technical and higher education. The developments in the various sectors of the educational system are examined in the following sections. Fig. 3 illustrates the educational system in 1957.

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<sup>30</sup> Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report, 1960-62, Accra: Govt. Printing Department, 1963, pp. 9-10.





## Primary and Middle Education

It will be recalled that in the 1920's the ten-year primary school course was divided into two main sections, namely, 1) Infant classes one to three and 2) Standard classes one to seven. (See Table II) This was later reorganized into a six-year primary course followed by a four-year middle course (See Fig.3).

The middle school as its name implies, is intermediate between the primary and secondary schools. It is not a junior high school, but provides an advanced elementary course. Entrants to secondary school are recruited from the middle schools. (See Fig. III). The eventual objective of Government policy was to develop the primary school so that selected pupils from the top class of the primary course could be admitted directly to secondary schools. When this was achieved it would mean that the age of entry to secondary schools might have been reduced to twelve instead of fourteen or more.

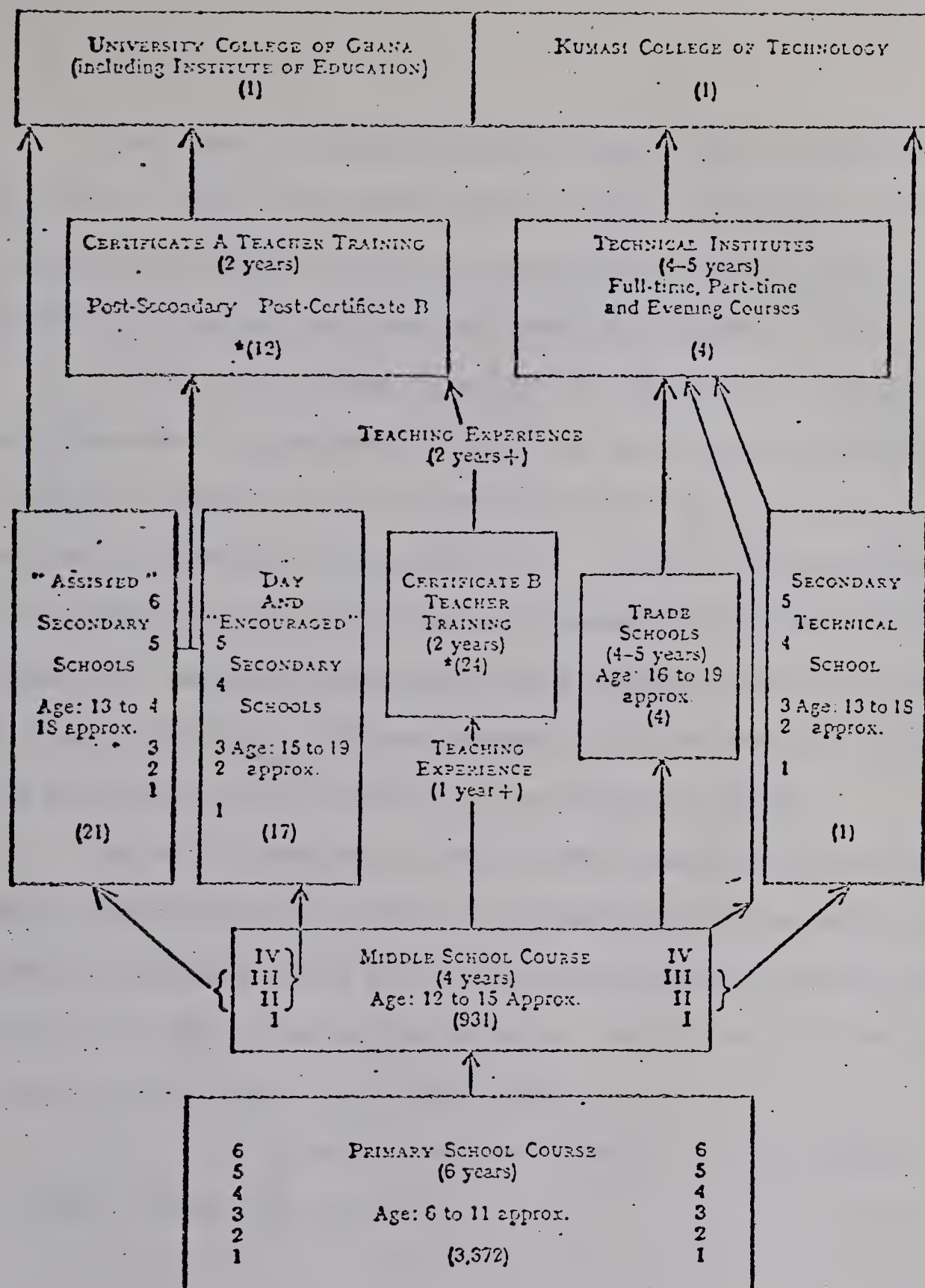
Table X shows the rapid increase in primary school enrolment during the period of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education:

TABLE X  
ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1951-1957<sup>31</sup>

Year	Number of Pupils in Approved Primary Schools	Number of Pupils in Private Primary Schools
1951	154,360	80,132
1952	335,094	2,174
1953	372,379	3,303
1954	396,933	6,268
1955	419,362	10,156
1956	436,854	9,848
1957	455,749	12,272

<sup>31</sup> Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report for the year 1957, Accra: Government Printer, 1957, p. 9.





*Note.*—The figures in brackets at the bottom of each box indicate the number of institutions as at December, 1957.

The figures arranged vertically indicate classes and forms.

\*There are 30 teacher-training colleges some of which offer both Certificate A and Certificate B courses.

FIGURE 3

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GHANA, 1957 (FROM GHANA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, EDUCATION REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1957, FRONTISPIECE)





The number of approved primary schools rose from 1,083 in 1951 to 3,372 in 1957. At the same time the number of private primary schools fell from 1,450 to 199; this was due to the fact that a large majority of them were approved for Government grants.

In all public primary schools, the salaries of teachers were paid from central government funds; local authorities, excluding those in Northern Ghana were responsible for refunding to Government an approved percentage of the salary bill. In 1957, this percentage was five percent. Local authorities were responsible for the following items: (i) expendable equipment grants payable annually (in 1957 this was at the rate of £6 per teacher), (ii) maintenance of existing buildings, (iii) provision of new school buildings.

As far as possible, syllabus content was related to environment. Towards the end of 1957, it was decided that the teaching of English in schools should be intensified with effect from 1958, and that English should become the medium of instruction in primary class 2 upwards with effect from January, 1959.

The following table shows the increase in middle school enrolment between 1951 and 1957.



TABLE XI  
ENROLMENT IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS, 1951-1957<sup>32</sup>

Year	Approved Middle Schools	Private Middle Schools
1951	66,175	308
1952	80,013	1,640
1953	88,600	3,836
1954	97,391	7,194
1955	105,009	8,880
1956	108,548	7,064
1957	115,831	11,686

In the same period the total number of approved middle schools increased from 539 in 1951 to 931 in 1957 while that of private schools increased from 1 to 200.

At the end of the middle school course, which lasted four years, pupils took the Middle School Leaving Examination. The following table shows the results of this examination between 1955 and 1957:

TABLE XII  
RESULTS OF MIDDLE SCHOOL LEAVING EXAMINATION, 1955-1957<sup>33</sup>

Year	Number Sat	Number Passed	Percentage Passed
1955	22,180	12,343	55.6
1956	24,701	15,656	63.4
1957	24,389	14,567	59.7

<sup>32</sup>Ghana Education Statistics 1958, op. cit., p. 1, Table I.

<sup>33</sup>Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report for 1957, op. cit., p. 10.





In 1957, the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination was conducted for the first time by the West African Examinations Council on behalf of the Ministry of Education. The examination consisted of four objective type papers and a fifth paper with the essay type of questions. To cope with the thousands of candidates the marking of the objective type papers was mechanized, the West African examinations Council having adequate equipment for this purpose. The subjects of the examination included Arithmetic, English, Geography, History and Civics.

The medium of instruction throughout the Middle School course was English; the main Ghana languages (Ewe, Fante, Ga, Twi, Nzema and Asante) were treated as subjects in Middle Forms I - III, but did not appear in the course followed in form IV. The curriculum included English language, Ghana languages, Arithmetic, Geography, Civics, History, Art and Crafts, Housecraft, Needlework, Gardening, Religion, and Physical Education. Official syllabuses prepared by the Ministry of Education were issued to all schools.

The middle school had a dual function:

.....to prepare the more gifted youth for entry to the secondary school ..... and to prepare a much larger proportion of its pupils (90 to 95 percent) for making a living when they have left school at the end of the middle course. Secondly, the middle course is concerned with the development of its students as socially responsible citizens of a democratic nation, who upon leaving school will take their place as fellow-citizens in a vigorous and forward-looking community, and who should have some appreciation of the duty they owe to their family, to their immediate social environment and to the state at large.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report for the Years 1958-1960, Accra: Government Printing Department, 1962, p. 29.





As already noted, however, the eventual objective of the Government was to improve the standard of the primary school so as to enable primary school graduates to enter secondary schools. The middle school would then be modified into a kind of vocational school for those who could not proceed to the regular secondary schools. This objective has not yet been achieved.

In November 1960, President Kwame Nkrumah announced that fee-free and compulsory primary and middle education would be introduced in September 1961. The response to this in September 1961 was tremendous; 219,480 children started schooling in primary class one as compared with 123,407 the previous year. In order to cope with the increased numbers temporary structures were put up and other accommodation pressed into service as classrooms, so that in all nearly 2,000 new primary schools were opened, apart from the duplication of many existing schools.<sup>35</sup>

The pressure on middle schools was not as marked as in the case of primary schools. However, over 300 new schools were opened to accommodate the additional primary school leavers entering the middle schools.

The following tables show the expansion of the public primary and middle school system between 1957 and 1962:

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<sup>35</sup> Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report, 1960-62, Accra: Government Printing Department, 1963, p. 11.



TABLE XIII  
PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1957-1962<sup>36</sup>

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
1957	3,372	301,585	154,164	455,749
1958	3,402	299,346	155,707	455,053
1959	3,428	304,812	160,478	465,290
1960	3,452	311,857	166,285	478,142
1960-61	3,552	333,904	186,122	520,026
1961-62	5,451	448,630	252,350	700,980
PUBLIC MIDDLE SCHOOLS 1957-1962				
1957	931	88,038	27,793	115,831
1958	1,030	93,215	32,098	125,313
1959	1,118	102,162	37,822	139,984
1960	1,177	105,710	41,809	147,519
1960-61	1,252	111,751	45,932	157,683
1961-62	1,575	124,950	51,030	175,980

By the end of the 1961-62 academic year the Government had assumed responsibility for payment of the full salaries of teachers in all public primary and middle schools. Previously, local authorities in most areas had been responsible for refunding five percent of the salary bill for primary schools in their areas. In middle schools opened after 1951, they had had to find all the money for teachers' salaries, although some of this expenditure had been offset by fee income. With the abolition of fees in middle schools, the Government from January, 1962 onwards met the full cost of teachers' salaries in

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 12.





all middle as well as primary schools. However, the local authorities remained responsible for the provision of primary and middle school buildings except in Northern Ghana and part of the Brong-Ahafo Region, where the Government continued to make grants towards new buildings and the extension of existing schools.

For some time the Government had been disturbed by the fact that a child completed approximately thirteen years schooling before attaining the School Certificate or General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level). In an effort to reduce this period the Government planned that pupils should be selected for secondary school after the six years primary course. This would mean that the middle school, as a link between the primary school and the secondary school, would automatically cease to exist. The intention was that the middle schools would be replaced by two-year continuation schools offering courses of a vocational nature, such as Agriculture, Shorthand, Typing and Office Routine, Simple Bookkeeping, Elementary Accountancy, Housecraft and Handicrafts. The objective could not be achieved for lack of staff, equipment and finance.

The policy of dual control in education which characterised the colonial pattern of education continued into the 1960's; the Government and voluntary agencies joined together in partnership in the provision of education. By 1960, the following were the institutions for which Government was directly responsible for management, staffing and finance: four Government teacher-training colleges, four



government technical institutes, four Government trade schools and one government secondary technical school. The former Government primary and middle schools were transferred to Local Authorities on September 1, 1956.

The following voluntary agencies were recognized by the Government as Educational Units in 1960:<sup>37</sup>

- Presbyterian Church of Ghana
- Methodist Church
- Roman Catholic Mission
- Anglican Church of Ghana
- Order of the Holy Paraclete
- Evangelical Presbyterian Church
- Seventh Day Adventist Mission
- A.M.E. Zion Mission
- Talim-ul-Islam Ahmadiyya Movement
- Salvation Army.

In addition to grants for their primary and middle schools, the Educational Units received funds for supervisory, administrative and clerical staff. The routine administration of individual primary and middle schools was conducted largely by clergymen -- officially termed local managers -- who received payment for such work. The Educational Units were responsible to the Ministry of Education for conducting their schools according to the Education Ordinance and the Rules made under the Ordinance.

In 1960, the former District Education Committees were abolished and Local Council Education Committees were established to replace them. It may be recalled that the District Education Committees had first

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<sup>37</sup>Education Report for 1958-60, op. cit., p. 18.





developed in 1942. The functions of the committees were to advise the Ministry of Education on the development of primary and middle educational facilities in their areas; their recommendations had to be approved by the Ministry before being put into effect. The Local Council Education Committees were also advisory, but in addition they possessed certain executive powers such as giving approval to new openings and extensions of primary and middle schools, subject to the conditions laid down by the Ministry of Education. The membership of each Local Council Education Committee included six local councillors, representatives of the principal educational units operating in the council's area, and a representative of teachers' interests. The District Education Officer, representing the Ministry of Education, attended the meetings, not as a member but to give professional advice to the committee and explanations of the Ministry's policy.

### Secondary Education

There was considerable expansion in secondary education after the implementation of the Accelerated Development Plan in January 1952. The number of secondary schools within the public education system rose from 13 in 1951 to 38 by January, 1957. The following table shows the increase in secondary school enrolment between 1951 and 1957:





TABLE XIV  
SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1951-1957<sup>38</sup>

Year	Government and Approved Schools	Autonomous (Achimota)	Private
1951	2,368	569	3,964
1952	4,442	591	2,709
1953	5,479	587	2,377
1954	6,338	598	1,666
1955	7,117	594	2,306
1956	8,299	609	2,157
1957	9,261	599	2,259

The Government and approved secondary schools as well as the autonomous institution of Achimota together constituted the public secondary schools of the country. The decrease in private secondary school enrolment was due to the fact that some of them became approved schools. The course offered in the schools continued to be purely academic except at the Government Secondary Technical School at Takoradi.

Entrance to all the public secondary schools continued to be by a common written entrance examination conducted on behalf of the Conference of Heads of Secondary Schools by the West African Examinations Council, and the final selection of candidates was made through interviews by the respective schools to which candidates sought admission. In nineteen fifty-seven, 24,660 pupils took the entrance examination for admission in the following year to the 38 public

<sup>38</sup> Ghana: Education Statistics 1958, op. cit., p. 1, Table 1.



secondary schools. Of this number, only 2,848 pupils (2,290 boys, 558 girls) gained admission.<sup>39</sup>

The content of the courses followed in the secondary schools was largely determined by the West African School Certificate Examination and the Overseas Higher School Certificate Examination of the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate. The former examination was organized and conducted by the Syndicate in collaboration with the West African Examinations Council. In such subjects as mathematics and Latin the syllabus closely followed that of the Overseas Cambridge Certificate, but in other subjects such as biology and geography, where a West African environment is of importance, panels of teachers were set up to revise the syllabus periodically. The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate was willing at all times to make changes in its examinations consistent with the maintenance of its standards to meet problems specially West African. Pupils sat the West African School Certificate examination at the end of their fifth year in school. In nineteen fifty-seven, 1,430 school candidates (1,205 boys and 225 girls) took the examination and 1,028 (860 boys and 168 girls) passed. The detailed results for this examination as well as the Higher School Certificate Examination are shown in Table XV(a) and Table XV(b).

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<sup>39</sup> Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report 1957, op. cit., p. 11.





TABLE XV(a)

WEST AFRICAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION—DECEMBER, 1957: SUMMARY OF RESULTS									
Classification of Candidates	Total No. of Candidates who took full Exam.	PASSES		PASSES BY GRADE			PERCENTAGE OF PASSES BY GRADE		
		Num-ber	Per-centage	Grade			Grade		
				1	2	3	1	2	3
Candidates in Schools within the Public Education System.	1,430	1,028	71.9	210	398	420	14.7	27.8	29.4
Candidates in Private Secondary Schools.	224	46	20.5	1	20	25	0.4	8.9	11.2
Private Candidates	490	103	22.0	2	11	95	0.4	2.2	19.4
Total	2,144	1,182	55.1	213	429	540	10.0	20.0	25.2
							402	67	26
									1,523
							178	47	4
							382	148	105
							962	262	135
									2,541

TABLE XV(b)

## HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION RESULTS

1956						1957					
Entrants			Passes			Entrants			Passes		
Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
179	8	187	139	6	145	248	16	264	187	13	200

Source: Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report for the Year 1957, p. 27.



Facilities for a sixth form course lasting two years and leading to the Oversea Higher School Certificate of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate were provided in some of the approved schools. A total number of 545 pupils (496 boys and 49 girls) were pursuing sixth form courses in 1957.<sup>40</sup>

Secondary-technical education was provided at the Government Secondary-Technical School, Takoradi, a boarding institution for boys, which provided a five-year course leading to the West African School Certificate. On successful completion of this course students proceeded to different forms of higher education or training, including further academic education, engineering, industrial technology or science or to an industrial occupation. This institution was formerly the Government Technical School and had been renamed to indicate its new function. The school presented its first candidates for the West African School Certificate Examination in December 1957; of the 50 candidates who took the examination 43 passed.

Secondary Schools in the public system grew rapidly in number between 1960 and 1962 to meet the expanding life and economy of the country. There were 39 public secondary schools at the beginning of 1960, but the number increased to 68 during the 1961-62 academic year. The Ghana Educational Trust was responsible for building 24 of the new schools. The expansion in secondary education between 1957 and 1962 is shown in Table XVI.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 12.





TABLE XVI  
ENROLMENT IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1957-1962<sup>41</sup>

	Schools	Forms 1 to 5		Form 6		Total
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1957	38	7,662	1,767	382	49	9,860
1958	39	7,998	1,938	432	55	10,423
1959	39	8,402	2,079	544	86	11,111
1960	39	8,921	2,252	599	102	11,874
1960-61	59	11,991	3,494	877	161	16,523
1961-62	68	13,592	4,217	893	164	18,866

In June, 1962, for the first time, students in sixth form schools took the General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level examination of London University, in place of the Overseas Higher School Certificate of Cambridge University.

Up to the end of 1959, the academic year for all educational institutions (except the University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology) coincided with the calendar year; pupils in primary, middle and secondary schools as well as students in teacher training colleges and technical colleges started their courses each year in January and ended in December. The examinations for the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate were held each year in November and sixth form students intending to enter college had to wait for approximately ten months (November to September), before taking up residence at the University College or the Kumasi College of

<sup>41</sup> Education Report, 1960-62, op. cit., p. 17.





Technology. This delay actually meant that a university qualification was obtained twelve months later than would have been the case if students could have entered college immediately after completing sixth form. The change-over was made in 1960 when all educational institutions in the country were made to begin their academic year in September and end in July (Primary and middle schools ended in August). The School Certificate examination as well as the London University General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) examination could then be taken in June each year. Successful sixth formers could then proceed directly to the University College in September or October.

In June 1960, the West African Examinations Council introduced its own School Certificate examination, which was taken by all form five students completing the secondary school course. Credits obtained in the examination were recognized by all West African universities and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Durham as being equivalent of the General Certificate of Education, (Ordinary Level). In connection with both the School Certificate and General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) examinations, the West African Examination Council arranged with subject specialists in schools and universities to review examination syllabuses so as to ensure that they should be suited to the needs of Ghanaian candidates while preserving internationally recognized standards.



The staffing position in public secondary schools in February 1962 is shown in the following statistics:<sup>42</sup>

<u>Status of Teacher</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
1. University graduates with professional training	342
2. University graduates without professional training	277
3. Non-graduate qualified teachers	315
4. Unqualified non-graduates	<u>151</u>
Total	<u>1,085</u>

The statistics show that the percentage of university graduates in the total teaching force was about 57 percent. The ideal would be to have all public secondary schools fully staffed with university graduates. The large number of non-graduates teaching in the secondary schools were holders of Teacher's Certificate A, the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate or General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level). The university graduates included both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians. The expatriate staff was made up largely of teachers recruited by the Ministry of Education through CUSO (Canadian University Service Overseas), the American Peace Corps, the Graduate Volunteers for Service Overseas of Great Britain as well as other agencies.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 19.





It has to be emphasized that the adequate staffing of public secondary schools was a major problem particularly with the expansion in sixth form work as well as increased enrolment.

### Technical Education

In order to develop technical education which had been somewhat neglected in the past, a separate Department of Technical Education was established at the beginning of 1956 as a branch of the Ministry of Education.

In 1957 there were four Government Trade Schools and four Government Technical Institutes. The Trade Schools located at Asuansi (near Cape Coast), Mampong in Ashanti, Tamale in the Northern Region and Kpandu in the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region provided residential courses in the training of the artisan class of tradesmen, who, after requisite complementary experience in industry, qualified for appointment to supervisory posts as foremen and works superintendents. The trades taught were carpentry and joinery, brick laying, automobile mechanics, machine shop engineering and similar trades. The Accelerated Development Plan anticipated an enrolment of 480 students in Government Trade Schools in 1957.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>C. T. Nylander, Minister of Education, Education in Ghana, Text of Speech given in the Ghana Parliament, Accra: Government Printer, June 13, 1957, pp. 6-7.



Previously, the trades courses had lasted four years, but it was decided that the period should be shortened to two years provided that the students, coming from the middle schools, first took a pre-technical course of about eighteen months. Syllabuses and schemes of work for these pre-technical courses were prepared and in January 1957 the new intakes amounting to 402 boys were started on pre-technical courses in preparation for entry to specialized City and Guilds craft courses. The subjects of the pre-technical courses were English, mathematics, elementary science, geometrical and technical drawing, woodwork and metalwork.

The Technical Institutes situated at Tarkwa, Takoradi, Accra and Kumasi offered four to five years non-residential courses in building, mechanical and electrical engineering. Speaking about the technical institutes the Minister of Education said:

These are the establishments where the main training of our new generation of technicians will be carried out. Technicians form a much needed intermediate grade between the professionals such as engineers, architects on the one hand and the craftsmen, such as carpenters, bricklayers, auto-mechanics, on the other.<sup>44</sup>

The technical institutes provided technical and vocational courses in many forms--full-time, part-time, evening courses and special programs for apprentices.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.





The overall total enrolment in trade schools and technical institutes was 3,057 in 1957. The enrolment and output statistics are shown in Tables XVII and XVIII. There were no outputs in 1957 from the two newly established technical institutes at Accra and Kumasi, (apart from commercial and domestic subjects) and there was no output from the new trade school at Kpandu.

In addition to the Government Trade Schools and Technical Institutes, there were a number of private technical and commercial institutes; these numbered about thirty in 1957 and had an approximate enrolment of 1,800 students.<sup>45</sup> Finally, Government departments and agencies, as well as foreign firms operating in Ghana, provided a wide range of technical training for many young men.

A major problem facing technical education was the recruitment of staff. Local recruitment was hampered by the shortage of qualified Ghanaians, and overseas recruitment was difficult because of the world-wide shortage of technical teachers. The position was expected to improve within a few years with the return of Ghanaian students from courses of technical, industrial and teacher-training overseas.

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<sup>45</sup>Ruth Sloan (Compiler), The Educated African, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962, p. 341.





TABLE XVII

FULL-TIME COURSES—TECHNICAL INSTITUTES  
SESSION 1957

	Accra Technical Institute		Kumasi Technical Institute		Takoradi Technical Institute		Tarkwa Technical Institute	
	Enrolment	Output	Enrolment	Output	Enrolment	Output	Enrolment	Output
Pre-technical .. .. .	120	—	61	—	60	—	59	—
Mechanical Engineering Trades								
General Engineering .. .. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	—
Machine Shop Engineering .. .. .	—	—	—	—	31	12	18	18
Motor Mechanics' Work .. .. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	31
Electrical Engineering Trades								
Electrical Engineering Practice .. .. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	21
Electrical Installation Work .. .. .	—	—	—	—	32	17	—	—
Building Trades								
Carpentry and Joinery .. .. .	—	—	—	—	13	13	30	16
Brickwork .. .. .	—	—	—	—	24	12	—	—
Painting and Decorating .. .. .	—	—	—	—	11	11	—	—
Domestic Subjects .. .. .	35	3	19	19	9	9	—	—
Commercial Subjects .. .. .	60	30	17	17	24	24	—	—
	215	33	97	36	204	98	217	86

TABLE XVIII

FULL-TIME COURSES—TRADE SCHOOLS SESSION 1957

	Asuansi Trade School		Mampong Trade School		Tamale Trade School		Kpandu Trade School	
	Enrolment	Output	Enrolment	Output	Enrolment	Output	Enrolment	Output
Pre-technical .. .. .	27	—	34	—	—	—	41	—
General Engineering Trades .. .. .	54	16	43	18	64	15	32	—
General Building Trades .. .. .	51	16	54	15	70	19	33	—
	132	32	136	33	134	34	106	—

Source: Ghana Ministry of Education, Education Report for the Year 1957, pp. 32, 33.



In connection with technical education it is worthwhile mentioning the technical assistance provided by the Government of France to Ghana in respect of "Rapid Trade Training." The technique of "Rapid Trade Training" as developed in metropolitan France was introduced into French West and Equatorial Africa in 1950. The method has proved a valuable supplement to traditional forms of technical training. Since 1950 it has been extensively adopted in the Belgian Congo.

Initially through the intermediary of CCTA (Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa) the Governments of Ghana and France entered into an agreement whereby a French expert, M. LeCorre was detached for service in Ghana to introduce this training technique.<sup>46</sup> The scheme began in June 1957. The courses were held at Panfokrom and Accra. The teaching syllabus for the training of craftsmen was designed to last 37 weeks with about 40 hours per week, the week being organized as follows:

Practical Work and Applied Technology	33 hours
Technical Drawing	5 hours
General Teaching-Mathematics-Technology revision	<u>2</u> hours
Total	<u>40</u> hours

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<sup>46</sup>Y.J. LeCorre, "Aspects of teacher-training for technical and vocational instructors in Ghana and its applications to accelerated teaching", Bulletin of Inter-African Labour Institute, 6, 2, March, 1959, pp. 34-35.





The course at Panfokrom produced technical instructors who received training similar to that given in Paris, at the Institut National des Cadres. So also were the courses at Accra which produced qualified instructors for accelerated teaching courses in technical subjects like masonry, carpentry and engineering fitting.

The results of the London City and Guilds Examinations taken by students in Government Technical Institutions during 1961 and 1962 are shown in the following table:

TABLE XIX

GOVERNMENT TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS  
RESULTS OF CITY AND GUILDS EXAMINATIONS, 1961-1962<sup>47</sup>

Course	1961		1962	
	Sat	Passed	Sat	Passed
1. Craft (Intermediate)	300	207	220	119
2. Advanced Craft (Final)	41	35	62	41
3. Oversea Certificate				
a) Senior Technical (1st Year)	114	74	50	32
b) Senior Technical (Final)	45	39	80	51
	<u>500</u>	<u>355</u>	<u>412</u>	<u>243</u>

The Government Secondary Technical School at Takoradi continued to provide secondary technical education. In September 1961, sixth form courses in Mathematics and the Physical Sciences began at the school

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<sup>47</sup> Education Report, 1960-62, op. cit., p. 25.



and total enrolment rose to 310. Developments in technological education are discussed under "Higher Education."

### Teachers and Salaries

In 1957 the following courses were provided by teacher training colleges: 1) Certificate "B" course; 2) Certificate "A" (Post-Certificate "B") course; and 3) Certificate "A" (Post-Secondary) course. The Certificate "B" training colleges which offered a two-year course trained teachers for primary schools; the Certificate "A" (Post-"B") and Certificate "A" (Post-Secondary) colleges, each provided a two-year course and trained teachers for primary and middle schools. Students for the Certificate "B" training colleges were recruited from holders of the Middle School Leaving Certificate who had taught for a minimum period of one year as pupil teachers, while students for the Certificate "A" (Post-"B") and Certificate "A" (Post-Secondary) colleges were recruited from holders of Teacher's Certificate "B" or Teacher's External Certificate and the West African School Certificate respectively.

As previously indicated the Accelerated Development Plan aimed at increasing the numbers of trained teachers to cope with the expansion in primary and middle education. The increase in the number of teacher training colleges as well as the resulting increases in their enrolment from 1951 to 1957 are shown in Table XX.



TABLE XX  
NUMBER OF TEACHER-TRAINING COLLEGES  
AND ENROLMENT, 1951-1957<sup>48</sup>

Year	Number of Government and Approved Colleges	Total Enrolment
1951	20	1,916
1952	22	2,363
1953	25	2,939
1954	28	3,272
1955	29	3,498
1956	30	3,551
1957	30	3,873

In 1957 the teaching staff in the 30 colleges totalled 330. Of this number 69 were university graduates and 261 were non-graduates. The non-university graduates comprised mainly holders of Teacher's Certificate A as well as the Diploma of the University of Ghana Institute of Education.

In the colonial era the teacher-training colleges had been entirely responsible for the certification of their students as well as for the selection of candidates for entry to college. With the increase in the number of training colleges and the absence of a common curriculum, there had resulted a wide divergence of standards in these colleges. Therefore, in 1958 the Ministry of Education established a central body known as the National Teacher-Training Council to be responsible for teacher-training in the country. This council com-

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<sup>48</sup>Ghana Education Statistics, 1958, op. cit., Table I, p. 1.





prised the principals of teacher-training colleges and representatives of the Institute of Education of the University of Ghana and of the Ministry of Education. The National Teacher-Training Council (N.T.T.C.) was responsible to the Minister of Education for the certification of teachers and for the entrance examinations to teacher-training colleges. On behalf of the N.T.T.C. the West African Examinations Council conducted common entrance and final examinations for all teachers in training colleges.

All teachers employed in grant-aided schools belonged to a unified teaching service called the Ghana Teaching Service, with common conditions of service. They were eligible for pension in accordance with the Teachers' Pensions Ordinance, 1955.

The following table shows the staffing position in primary and middle schools in the country during 1958. The overwhelming preponderance of pupil teachers, already referred to, is immediately apparent.

TABLE XXI  
TEACHING STAFF AND THEIR QUALIFICATIONS, 1958<sup>49</sup>

	Certificate A	Certificate B	Others*	Pupil Teachers	Total Staff
Approved and Private Primary Schools	1,838	4,135	398	8,905	15,276
Approved and Private Middle Schools	3,072	8	316	1,019	4,415
Total	4,910	4,143	714	9,924	19,691

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

\*Include holders of External, Honorary and School Certificates.



The grand totals show that pupil teachers (comprising mainly holders of the Middle School Leaving Certificate) constituted half of the teaching staff establishment in primary and middle schools in 1958.

The staffing position in public secondary schools for 1956 and 1957 reveals that the proportion of university graduates to non-graduates was approximately the same. The statistics are as follows:

TABLE XXII  
TEACHING STAFF IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1956-1957<sup>50</sup>

	1956	1957
University Graduates	271	303
Non-Graduates	281	300

Salaries have been low, by tradition, particularly in the case of teachers in mission primary and middle schools. The missions had not sufficient funds to pay their teachers; moreover the work of teaching, especially when combined (as it very often was), with that of catechist, was regarded as sacrificial, thus justifying the scanty salary paid. The generally low salaries led to the mass resignation of mission teachers in 1918 and 1919. Although Governor Guggisberg effected some improvements in the salaries and status of mission

<sup>50</sup> Ghana Govt. Education Report for 1957, op. cit.





teachers, their conditions were still inferior to those of government school teachers. This was a continuing source of discontent.

In 1947 a committee<sup>51</sup> appointed by the Government to enquire into the salaries of teachers in non-government institutions, made a recommendation for parity of treatment in salaries between Government and non-Government school teachers. This was not implemented, although slight improvements in salaries were made.

Shortly before the Accelerated Development Plan for Education was approved by the Legislative Assembly, a committee<sup>52</sup> was set up, once again, to review the salaries and conditions of service of non-Government teachers. The Committee's report marked the greatest single step ever taken in the country to raise the status of the teaching profession. The Committee recommended that there should be a unified teaching service and that the Government should stop employing teachers direct; this was effected in 1956. It also recommended that teachers should command salary scales higher than other persons with similar qualifications, experience and ability in other walks of life.

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<sup>51</sup>Gold Coast Government: Report of the Committee on the Scale of Emoluments applicable to teachers in Non-Government Institutions, Accra: Government Printing Dept., 1947.

<sup>52</sup>Gold Coast Government: Report of the Committee set up to review the Salaries and Conditions of Service of Non-Government Teachers, Accra: Government Printing Department, 1952.



As a result of the Committee's recommendations, the initial salary of the Certificate B teacher was raised from £72 to £110 per annum, and that of the Certificate A teacher from £84 to £150 per annum. Pupil teachers who previously received £42 per annum were upgraded to £84 per annum; this was a flat scale.<sup>53</sup>

In 1957, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the salaries and wages of the Civil Service and non-Government teaching service. Further increases in teachers' salaries were made upon the recommendations of this Commission as the following figures show.<sup>54</sup>

	<u>Salary Per Annum</u>
Pupil Teachers (Middle School Leaving Certificate)	£108
Certificate B	£105-£320
Certificate A (Post Secondary)	£250-£400
University Graduate	£680-£980

At the end of 1961 the Government decided to do away with the two-year Certificate B course. This course had been started in the immediate post war period on the recommendation of the 1937-41 Education Committee, as an addition to the existing four-year course. As a normal requirement, except for women students, teachers with Certificate B had to serve in the field for two or three years before

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<sup>53</sup>H.O.A. McWilliam, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>54</sup>Ghana Government: Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into Salaries and Wages of the Civil Service and Non-Government Teaching Service, 1957, Accra: Govt. Printer, 1957, p. 47.





sitting an entrance examination for the Certificate A (post-B) course. It was found that rather less than half the Certificate B teachers qualified for further training in this way. Furthermore, it was recognized that two years training was not generally adequate in preparing a middle school leaver to teach.

As a result of these considerations the Certificate B course was abolished. From September, 1962 onwards all middle school leavers entering training colleges were to take a continuous four-year course leading to the award of Certificate A. However, for holders of secondary school certificates, the two-year Certificate A (post-secondary) course was retained.

For the continuous four-year course the Ministry of Education laid down the following principles to guide principals of Training Colleges throughout the country:

In the first two years of the course no professional training is to be given, but the educational standards of the students are to be raised to a level roughly equivalent to that of a third year secondary school pupil and with special stress laid on science subjects. In the third year of the course there will be a small amount of professional training but the emphasis will still be on the student's own education. The fourth year will be devoted to professional training, but English studies will continue and there will be scope in the time table for students to develop their individual abilities and interests.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Education Report, 1960-62, op. cit., p. 21.





### Higher Education

During the Second World War the British Government appointed two commissions to examine the question of higher education in the British colonies. The first commission was appointed in June 1943 under the chairmanship of Walter Elliot, M.C., M.P. Its terms of reference were as follows:

To report on the organization and facilities of the existing centres of higher education in British West Africa, and to make recommendations regarding future university development in that area.<sup>56</sup>

The second commission was appointed in August under the chairmanship of the Honourable Mr. Justice Asquith. Its terms of reference were as follows:

To consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the Colonies in order to give effect to these principles.<sup>57</sup>

The Asquith Commission unanimously recommended the immediate establishment of colonial universities in order to prepare the colonies for self-government. The Commission's recommendation was a frank recognition of the fact that self-government was a logical goal for the colonies. It also implied the understanding that the final

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<sup>56</sup> Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655, London: H.M.S.O. June, 1945, p. 19. This report is hereafter referred to as the Elliot Commission Report.

<sup>57</sup> Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, Cmd. 6647, London: H.M.S.O. 1945, p. 1. This report is hereafter referred to as the Asquith Commission Report.



responsibility for the welfare of the future nations would devolve on well educated, capable and responsible leaders within the colonies themselves. The Commission indicated that the development of higher education in the Colonies must depend on substantial financial aid from Great Britain. Accordingly, it was recommended that a Colonial Grants Committee should be created to advise on the disbursement of the funds provided.

The Elliot Commission issued two reports: a Majority Report and a Minority Report from five of the thirteen members. The Majority Report recommended the establishment of a university in each of the three bigger territories in West Africa.<sup>58</sup> The Minority Report favoured the establishment of a single university for the whole of British West Africa.

The Commission recommended that Achimota College and Fourah Bay College were to form the nuclei of the new universities in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone respectively. In the case of Nigeria, the location of the university was to be at Ibadan, a few miles from Lagos, the capital. In respect of new buildings it recommended that the cost be borne jointly by the territorial Governments and by the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The share of the West African Governments was to be increased progressively until they eventually bore the entire cost.

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<sup>58</sup>These were Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. The fourth territory was the small colony of Gambia.





The Commission noted the intention of the Asquith Commission to recommend the establishment of an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and a Committee to advise on financial grants to the new colonial universities. The Elliot Commission welcomed both proposals. For the specific needs of the West African universities, the Commission recommended for each University College, a Board of Governors to exercise general control, a Council to take charge of finance and a Senate to supervise academic matters and student discipline. Each faculty was also to have its own Board. It also recommended the setting up of a West African Advisory Council to deal with the wider organization of higher education in West Africa.

It was proposed that the Colleges should initially take the degrees of a British University until they established for themselves a reputation for teaching and research and had also gained experience in university administration.

There were marked reactions to the Elliot Commission's Report. Both the Majority and Minority Reports were presented together in June 1945. The British Government, after due consideration, decided to accept the Minority Report. The reactions to this were swift, particularly in the Gold Coast, where the Government was vehemently opposed to the idea of a single West African University. The Governments of both the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone could not consider reducing the status of their existing institutions of higher learning to that of mere feeders to a West African University.



In December 1946 the Inter-University Council sent out a delegation under Sir Hamilton Fyfe to investigate the possibilities of university education in West Africa, in the light of the Elliot Commission's recommendations and the reactions of the West African Governments. The Fyfe Delegation confirmed that Achimota College in the Gold Coast could be developed into a separate university on its own. In August 1947 the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones, who was a signatory to the Minority Report, sent a dispatch to the Governor of the Gold Coast indicating that while he still favoured the Minority Report, he was, nevertheless, ready to concede to the Gold Coast Government the right to establish its own university.

The University College of the Gold Coast was created by an Ordinance of the Gold Coast Government passed by the Legislative Council in August 1948. It did not grow out of Achimota as Governor Guggisberg and others had expected.

The new University College started teaching in borrowed buildings at Achimota. Owing to the inadequacy of accommodation in the temporary premises, it was planned to restrict enrolment to two hundred students, and teach mainly for the general degrees, until the permanent buildings at Legon (some three miles away) came into use. However, in 1949, a Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Africanization of the Public Service, in a report which was formally adopted by the Legislative Council, recommended the immediate expansion of the University College to the limit of the facilities that





could be provided at Achimota. As a result of this pressure, the Teacher-Training College moved away, releasing its buildings at Achimota.

The Government which had already granted £105,500 to the University College for additional buildings to enable work to begin, made a further grant of £261,800. At the same time the quinquennial grant-in-aid for recurrent expenditure was revised, from £500,000 to £927,000, so that additional appointments could be made to the teaching departments as well as administrative and technical staff. The principal, commenting on the quick pace of development in the initial stages, stated:

The work of building and alterations was pushed ahead with urgency, both the Works Departments and the outside contractors working overtime and on Sundays for months on end ..... Full use has also been made of the large number of huts built of mud or timber by the Army which occupied part of Achimota during the War. These mud and asbestos sheds, which make so odd a contrast with the up-to-date apparatus inside them, stand here as reminders of the great efforts that were made in conditions of emergency by a large number of people. Indeed, after the Asquith and Elliot Commissions, the Africanization Committee has been the greatest single factor determining the College's growth.<sup>59</sup>

The student enrolment of the University College in its first years of existence is shown in Table XXIII.

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<sup>59</sup> The University College of the Gold Coast 1948-52; Report by the Principal, Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1953, p. 5.





TABLE XXIII

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE GOLD COAST  
STUDENT ENROLMENT, 1948/49 - 1951/52<sup>60</sup>

Year	Intermediate and Preliminary	Degree Courses	Post- Graduate	Associate- ship	Total
1948-49	90	--	--	--	90
1949-50	84	24	--	--	108
1950-51	97	83	--	28	208
1951-52	161	144	2	33	340

When the Gold Coast became an independent sovereign state in 1957, the University College of the Gold Coast was renamed the University College of Ghana. In accordance with the Africanization policy of the Government, the College increased its intake of students as the following statistics show:

TABLE XXIV

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF GHANA  
STUDENT ENROLMENT 1957/58 - 1960/61

Year	Men	Women	Total
1957-58	401	23	424
1958-59	488	31	519
1959-60	568	41	609
1960-61	624	46	671

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 37.



By 1960-61 the following faculties were functioning at the University College of Ghana: Arts, Social Studies, Biological Sciences, Physical Sciences, Agriculture and the Institute of Education. Also the Institute of African Studies was established in 1960 in the hope that it would assist in providing an understanding of Africa's role in the modern world. The Institute is making notable contributions on African music, sociology and economics.

On being first established the University College of Ghana was placed in "special relationship" to London University and prepared its students for London degrees. This was done to ensure high standards. The first principal, David Balme, clung tenaciously to this principle; he maintained that standards are unchangeable and that a new institution making its reputation "cannot afford any weakening of standards."<sup>61</sup>

On the occasion of his installation as Chancellor of the newly created University of Ghana in 1961, President Kwame Nkrumah defended David Balme's principle when he said that for nearly thirteen years as a college it had been in special relationship with London University in order to ensure high standards. He ended with the following remarks:

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<sup>61</sup>Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African. A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966, p. 237.





By the attainment of University status I trust that both the lecturers and the students of the College have accepted to maintain the high academic standards already set.<sup>62</sup>

It was the College's strict adherence to high standards demanded by the special relationship with London University which explains the "reputation for the high quality of its work and for its remarkable mode of government."<sup>63</sup>

Before full university status was granted to the University College of Ghana, the Government appointed an international commission<sup>64</sup> to inquire into and advise on the future development of university education in Ghana. The chairman of the commission was Kojo Botsio, a Ghanaian Minister in the Nkrumah Government.

The Commission's proposals about relations between the State and the University rested on two main principles, namely that Ghanaian universities "should be able to respond to the immediate and future needs of the community" and "they should have the greatest possible autonomy in their organization, teaching and research."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> ibid.

<sup>63</sup> ibid., p. 281.

<sup>64</sup> Report of the Commission on University Education, December, 1960 - January, 1961, Government Printer, Accra, 1961. This Commission is hereafter referred to as the Botsio Commission.

<sup>65</sup> ibid., p. 11. Cited by Eric Ashby, op. cit., p. 311.



To achieve these objectives the Commission proposed that the university council should consist of approximately one third Government nominees, one third persons selected by the Senate from among the academic staff, and one third persons nominated by various educational bodies in the country. It recommended that academic affairs should be delegated to a senate comprising all heads of departments and in addition two non-professorial representatives from each department, with a further proviso that each department should have at least one Ghanaian representative on the senate.

The Ghana Government studied the Commission's Report and issued a White Paper on it.<sup>66</sup> The necessary legislation was introduced in July 1961 to bring into being the University of Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology.<sup>67</sup> The constitution in the Bill included among the aims of the University of Ghana, a political aspiration:

In determining the subjects to be taught emphasis should be placed upon those which are of special relevance to the needs and aspirations of Ghanaians, including the furtherance of African unity.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Statement by the Government on the Report of the Commission on University Education, W.P. No. 5/61. Accra.

<sup>67</sup>The University of Ghana Act, 1961 (Act 79), and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Act, 1961 (Act 80).

<sup>68</sup>Eric Ashby, op. cit., p. 312.



In accordance with the Commission's recommendations, President Kwame Nkrumah was appointed Chancellor of the University of Ghana as well as Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology.

The Council of the University of Ghana was composed as follows:<sup>69</sup>

The principal officers of the University shall be the Chancellor, the Chairman of the University Council and the Vice-Chancellor .... The President (of the republic) shall hold the office of Chancellor and as such shall be the Head of the University .... The Chairman of the University Council shall be appointed by the Chancellor .... A person shall not be appointed as Vice-Chancellor unless his appointment has been approved by the Chancellor .... The governing body of the University shall consist of the following fifteen members:

- (a) the principal officers of the University (the three specified above).
- (b) four persons appointed by the Chancellor.
- (c) the secretary for the time being of the National Council for Higher Education and Research (by definition a Ghanaian civil servant).
- (d) a person selected by a body appearing to the Chancellor to be representative of secondary schools.
- (e) a member elected from an African university outside Ghana.
- (f) a member elected from a university outside Africa.
- (g) four academic members of whom two have to be below professorial rank.

The membership of the academic board or senate whose function was to advise the council, included one sub-professorial representative from each department, and six representatives appointed by convocation.

This constitution failed to preserve autonomy in the University of Ghana. This matter will be examined further in the next chapter.

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<sup>69</sup> ibid.





On November 25, 1961, President Kwame Nkrumah was officially installed as first Chancellor of the University of Ghana. On that occasion he made the following statement:

Higher institutions of learning in Africa were in the past designed to suit the colonial order and their products therefore reflected the values and ideals of the colonial powers. Consequently, colonial institutions of higher learning, however good-intentioned, were unable to assess the needs and aspirations of the societies for which they were instituted. We have on numerous occasions denounced these institutions as ivory towers, lacking the necessary sympathy with the people, walking in the clouds with their feet dangling in the air.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, he emphasized the importance of establishing an institute of African studies at the University. Quoting from the Government's White Paper on the recommendations of the Botsio Commission he stated:

The government accepts, in principle, the commission's proposal for the establishment of an institute of African Studies, to be based upon the University of Ghana, but to have some measure of autonomy. The institute will have a most significant role to play both in the universities and in the national life, and it should therefore be developed on an imaginative scale .... It is the government's hope .... that within a few years the institute will have a firm basis of African scholarship and that it will become an internationally recognized centre for the advanced study of African history, language, sociology and culture and of contemporary African institutions.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Flower of Learning, Speech by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, at this Installation as first Chancellor of the University of Ghana, 25th November, 1961, Accra: Government Printing Department, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 7.



The Institute of African Studies was duly established and began its work in 1961-62 with Thomas Hodgkin, a joint secretary of the Botsio Commission, as its first director. In addition to the Institute of African Studies, the Institute of Public Education was established in 1962 to replace the former Department of Extramural Studies. It provided extra-mural and adult courses and also operated Workers' and Adult Colleges to serve the needs of older persons who wished to improve their education. The extra-mural courses were organized on a regional basis. In each regional capital in Ghana the Institute of Public Education organized courses of study, including the following, for the general public: English Language and Literature, International Affairs, Politics, Government, Economics and History.<sup>72</sup>

The Kumasi College of Technology was established in 1952. In 1955, it received the recognition of the University of London for providing courses in Engineering for its External B.Sc. (Engineering) Degree. The College was put to the rigorous test of providing courses in advanced technology based on syllabuses which in certain respects had no relation to conditions in Ghana or West Africa. Moreover, it had to cope with the added problem of finding the right type of students from secondary schools for admission to the degree courses in Engineering. There was at the time a dearth of secondary school graduates who had passed in physics, chemistry and mathematics.

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<sup>72</sup>Ghana Education Report, 1960-62, op. cit., p. 33.





Nevertheless, the College was able to present in 1959 its first batch of students for the Final Examination of the B.Sc. (Engineering) Degree, and three out of the six presented were successful. The examination results in the initial years of the College are shown below:

TABLE XXV  
KUMASI COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY  
RESULTS OF FINAL B.SC. (ENGINEERING) EXAMINATION, 1959-1961<sup>73</sup>

Year	Number Presented	Number Passed	Percentage
1959	6	3	50
1960	15	12	80
1961	21	15	71.4

By the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Act, 1961, (Act 80), the Kumasi College of Technology became a fully fledged university. In that year the following schools and faculties were functioning: 1) School of Agriculture, 2) School of Architecture, Town Planning and Building, 3) School of Art, 4) Institute of Community Planning, 5) Faculty of Engineering, 6) Department of Liberal and Social Studies, 7) Department of Pharmacy, and 8) Department of Science.

<sup>73</sup> Annual Report of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, October, 1961 - September, 1962, Kumasi: Kwame Nkrumah University Press, 1963, p. 19.



In his inaugural address as first Chancellor of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, President Kwame Nkrumah gave expression to his philosophy of making Ghanaian universities promote his political objectives, particularly the achievement of African unity. He made the following statement:

Knowledge is international, and scientific knowledge especially cannot be restricted to any one particular nation. In other words, science knows no frontiers. It will therefore be the task of this university to enter into friendly association with other universities in Africa and outside the continent in furtherance of close understanding between the nations. It must make a practical contribution to the political and economic unification of Africa.<sup>74</sup>

The University College of Cape Coast admitted its first students in November 1962. The department of liberal and social studies at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, was transferred to form the nucleus of the University College of Cape Coast. Later during 1964-65, the Institute of Education at the University of Ghana was also transferred to Cape Coast as a result of an order by President Nkrumah. The University College of Cape Coast is in special relationship to the University of Ghana. One of its main functions is to provide graduates to staff teacher training colleges and secondary schools in the country. It offers a two-year preliminary course in arts and a three-year full-time course leading to a diploma in science.

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<sup>74</sup>Flower of Learning, op. cit., p. 12.



Some Problems in Ghana's Education

A marked problem in Ghana's education at the primary and middle levels is that of wastage. This refers to the failure to complete the course. The wastage in the schools is illustrated by Table XXVI.

TABLE XXVI

WASTAGE BETWEEN CLASSES 1 AND 6, 1955-1960<sup>75</sup>

<u>Primary Class</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	1955	67,884	41,145	109,029
2	1956	47,859	26,696	74,555
3	1957	46,701	24,100	70,801
4	1958	44,008	21,881	65,889
5	1959	40,766	19,678	60,444
6	1960	39,485	18,307	57,792

The Ministry of Education commenting on these figures made the following statement:

It can be seen in this typical example the most serious drift away from the schools occurs before the beginning of the second year of the course and that by the end of three years about half the girls and one-third of the boys have disappeared from the classrooms for good. Since nothing of permanent value can result from so brief a stay, the loss to the nation in terms of both human and economic resources is one that cannot be afforded.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Ghana: Education Report, 1960-62, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.





The causes of this wastage are various. In the rural areas particularly, parents and guardians considered that only a year or two of schooling was necessary for children to learn to read and write; also there was the fact that both boys and girls were expected to engage in full-time work on farms at an early age. Although primary education was later made free, pupils' enthusiasm for it soon waned resulting in withdrawal from school. Furthermore, there was a feeling that the tuition received was not worth the expense of books and materials, since many schools were staffed predominantly by untrained teachers. Finally, the poverty of some parents made it difficult for them to meet the financial obligations involved, no matter how small these were. The problem of wastage is less serious in the coastal and central regions of Ghana, which have a fairly long history of educational activity, than in the northern part of the country.

The second problem in Ghana's education is its heavy emphasis on literary scholarship. Since the colonial days the educational machinery has been grinding out thousands of scholars (see page 32 ) to serve as teachers, ministers, storekeepers, civil servants and the like. Facilities for technical education were few. The result of this trend is that people have developed an unfavourable attitude to manual labour and technical skills.

The middle school leaver in Ghana inevitably makes his way into the large towns in search of a white collar occupation. The influx into the towns of such scholars without any training or skills



produces serious problems. The towns, especially along the coast, become overcrowded creating sanitation problems. The large numbers of job seekers naturally cause any available jobs to be very poorly paid, so that the less lucky one may wind up as a casually employed manual labourer. The problem also affects the rural areas, "since the influx of middle school leavers into the towns drains the countryside of an element it needs -- young men who will provide community leadership and improve rural living standards and agricultural practices."<sup>77</sup>

The Government's proposed plan of converting the middle school course into a vocational one would go a long way in solving the problem. It would help to bring about a gradual eradication of the prevailing unfavourable attitude to manual labour. The proposed vocational courses would enable the pupils to learn such vocations as carpentry, typing, building and workshop fitting.

The third problem is the lack of trained teachers resulting naturally from the expansion of primary and secondary education. Reference has already been made to the vast numbers of pupil teachers employed in the primary schools. This has inevitably led to a lowering of quality in the teaching services provided. The wholesale recruitment of pupil teachers was an inevitable choice open to the Government in its determination to provide free and compulsory primary education for all the children of the country.

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<sup>77</sup> Ruth Sloan and Helen Kitchen, The Educated African, A Country-by-Country Survey of Educational Development in Africa, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962, p. 339.





Efforts have been made to combat the general lowering of standards. For instance, (i) improvements have been effected in teacher training; (ii) the number of private schools has been decreased while at the same time more deserving schools have been approved for Government grants; (iii) independent examinations for middle and secondary school leavers have been provided by the West African Examinations Council, to ensure that high standards are maintained; (iv) the high qualifications demanded for university entrance have necessitated improvements in teaching at the secondary and middle levels. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the overall picture has been unsatisfactory in respect of academic standards.

In connection with staffing it may be mentioned that the secondary schools and teacher training colleges rely heavily on expatriate teachers owing to the shortage of qualified African personnel. The United States Peace Corps, The Canadian University Service Overseas and the British Graduate Volunteers for Service Overseas, are offering much assistance in this respect.

The fourth problem concerns the great length of time spent by pupils in school before they enter the university. Figure 4 shows that the average Ghanaian school pupil leaves the upper sixth form at the age of twenty and enters the university at twenty one. (By way of comparison we may note that his Canadian counterpart enters the university at about eighteen). It is this apparent waste of time which compelled the Government to propose that pupils from the top



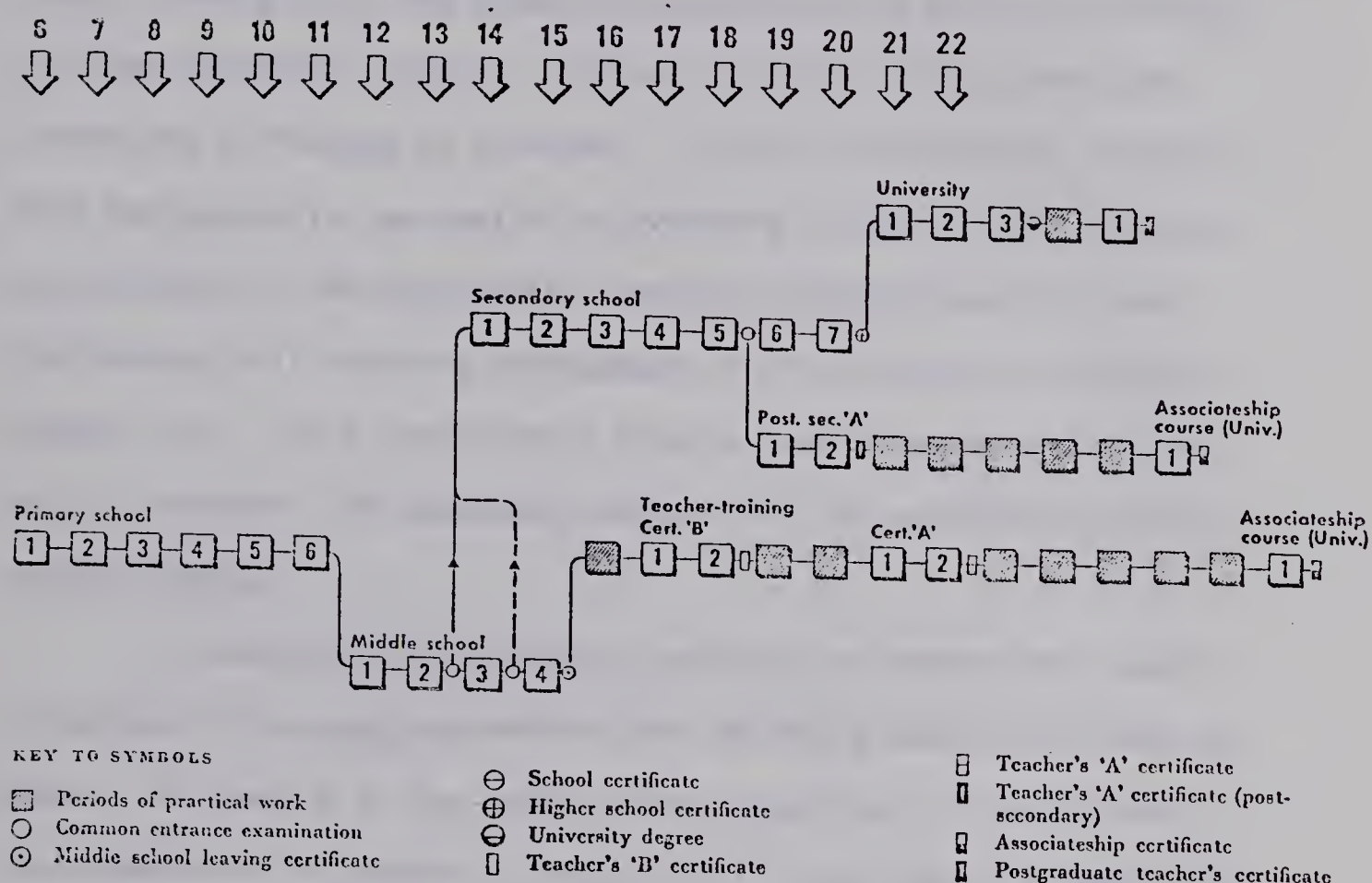


FIGURE 4

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GHANA, 1960-61  
 (FROM UNESCO: WORLD SURVEY OF EDUCATION IV,  
HIGHER EDUCATION, PARIS AND NEW YORK, 1966, p. 537)



class (Primary 6) in the primary school should be admitted straight into the secondary schools. This would enable them to enter the university at the age of nineteen. It has to be remarked, however, that the generally low quality of teaching in most primary schools, particularly in the rural areas, coupled with the generally poor facilities, will make the achievement of this objective a long-run probability. For a considerable time to come it appears as if the bulk of entrants into secondary schools will be recruited from the middle schools.

In concluding this chapter dealing with educational reconstruction in the emerging nation, the following observations may be made. The leaders of the nation viewed education in its entirety, and endeavoured to relate it effectively to the country's needs and conditions. The implementation of the various development plans connected with this objective was not an easy matter on account of problems regarding finance, equipment and staffing of the educational institutions.

Strenuous efforts were made to improve all sectors of the educational system, particularly at the primary level. The aim was to eradicate illiteracy and eventually produce qualified local personnel to man all activities which hitherto had been in the hands of expatriates. In order to make every boy and girl literate the Government had placed maximum emphasis on the expansion of primary education as evidenced by developments under the Accelerated Development





Plan for Education, 1951. The other sectors of the educational system received relatively less attention than did primary education. Some critics are of the opinion that it is more advantageous for a developing nation to concentrate her resources on the development of secondary rather than primary education. Adam Curle, one of such critics, makes the following statement:

Most authorities are agreed that the best way of reconciling economic expediency with the technical requirements of a country is a sound growth of secondary education, providing the army of trained but not excessively specialized persons who are so greatly needed as technicians, clerks, .... and businessmen, who also in all these capacities form the basis of a solid citizenry. But in a large number of under-developed nations secondary education has been neglected at the expense of primary and often also of university education.<sup>78</sup>

In the case of Ghana one might say, however, that since many of the children were illiterate it would have been difficult to recruit sufficient pupils into the secondary schools that might have been established. Probably the Ghana Government took the right decision in providing primary education for every child in the country.

In assessing the achievement in education it may be said that quantitatively much was achieved as evidenced by the large increases in school enrolments as well as new school and college buildings. Qualitatively, however, it cannot be denied that the rapid expansion inevitably led to a lowering of standards particularly in the primary schools staffed by vast numbers of pupil teachers.

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<sup>78</sup> Adam Curle, Educational Strategy for Developing Societies, London: Tavistock Publications (1959) Ltd., 1963, p. 86.



The flush of independence awakened the Ghanaian to a new sense of being and nationalism, to the realization that he was of some consequence in the world and that he must exert his African personality on the stage of world affairs. There was the general feeling that political independence obliged the African to accept the challenge to control and direct his own destiny and that education provided the necessary preparation for this responsibility. The establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana was a concrete expression of this new idea of the African personality. There arose a widespread clamour for education. Pupils sought for it in the regular schools; illiterate adults sought for it at the mass education classes organized by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development; other adults benefited from the extra-mural courses provided by the Institute of Public Education. At the same time the Government quickly made the necessary adjustments in educational organization to meet the new demands. The Central Advisory Committee on Education and the Northern Region Board of Education were abolished in 1959 as they were not effectively serving national needs. In their place the National Advisory Committee on Education was established to give much more effective advice to the Government. Also set up separately was a National Council for Higher Education to be responsible for the planning and development of higher education.





Furthermore, education rapidly began to have an international orientation. Ghana qualified for full membership in UNESCO upon attaining independence and was admitted on April 11, 1958. Since that time facilities have been provided to enable selected Ghanaians to study educational developments abroad. UNESCO experts have also been sent to Ghana to assist in matters concerning fundamental education, the teaching of science in secondary schools and educational statistics. As a result of an enquiry conducted by UNESCO into educational needs of African countries, an Emergency Program of Financial Assistance for the Development of Education in Africa was drawn up in 1962. The program covered four main fields. These were assistance to educational planning as part of national development programs, help in the development of post-primary education, fellowships for university study, and adult programs designed to banish illiteracy. As part of the implementation of these plans the UNESCO Regional Centre for Education in Africa was set up in Accra, Ghana, in 1962 together with the Textbook Production Centre. The major aim was to help Governments all over Africa to provide educational materials better adapted to conditions in newly independent African countries. Also, Ghana maintained an educational exhibition stand at the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, throughout the year.

Underlying all these developments in the post-independence period was the persistent attempt by the Nkrumah Government to force the Convention Peoples' Party ideology as well as Nkrumah's own image



upon all levels of the educational system in Ghana. The ground was fertile for this move in view of the fact that Nkrumah had succeeded in using the C.P.P. machinery to establish a one-party state with himself as life president of the Republic of Ghana. The impact of politics on the country's education is examined in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER III

### THE NKRUMAIST PATTERN, 1962-1966

#### Political Background

Kwame Nkrumah was influenced by the political writings of Jefferson, Lincoln, Marx, Lenin, Mazzini, Marcus Garvey, W. E. Dubois and George Padmore.

It appears that Nkrumah arrived in Ghana at an opportune moment when he could easily make himself a nationalist leader. The colonial regime had not fully developed a spirit of citizenship compatible with an aspiration to move abreast with the developed nations of the twentieth century. It is true that from 1946 the British Colonial Office became increasingly concerned with the problem of educating the people of the colonies 'for citizenship in the modern world.'<sup>1</sup> Something was achieved in this direction, but it cannot be said that the colonial peoples were satisfied with the rate of political development. Nationalist leaders were needed to speed up the process.

In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah introduced his personality as a central rallying and unifying force in the struggle for political independence. In this connection, the ideological organ of the

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<sup>1</sup> Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Education for Citizenship in Africa, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948, Colonial No. 216.





Convention People's Party, The Spark, made the following statement on December 19, 1965:

The charismatic personality of President Nkrumah is one of the props on which the new nation of Ghana is built. It is not mere personality worship. It is the most practical way of providing the new ship of state with a stable keel. If a young nation cannot anchor itself down to a few basic concepts and rules of practice, there is an air of drifting which is most injurious to national evolution. And these principles must be crystallised in a person with whom, as a result of his personal efforts and sacrifices, the broad masses associate their yearnings for a better life.<sup>2</sup>

The Socialist philosophy as it was practised in the Soviet Union appealed to Nkrumah, as it also did to some other young African nationalists after the Second World War. It appears as if some of the African leaders found in the Soviet Union, and even more fundamentally in Leninism and in Marxism, a sympathetic understanding for their cause. The fact is that Socialism and Communism were protest movements of the poor and oppressed, and the native Africans were poor and oppressed. Another reason why these systems appealed so much to some African politicians was the fact that the systems provided a sort of formula for the destruction of imperialist control over the resources, hence the power structure, of the emerging African nations. Nkrumah used the word neo-colonialism to represent this imperialist control over indigenous national resources. He gave free expression to his conviction that the political liberation of Africa was not

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<sup>2</sup>Henry L. Bretton, The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah, A Study of Personal Rule in Africa, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966, p. 12.



sufficient; it was essential to secure nationalisation of basic resources and the transfer of all economic control from foreign hands to the Africans themselves.

Nkrumah had very ambitious political aspirations. He was anxious to attain prominence as the prime architect of African Unity. To him, the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it was bound up with the total liberation of Africa. Quite early in his career, while he was in London and in contact with the Communist Party, he endeavoured to work for the establishment of a Union of West African Socialist Republics comprising both English and French-speaking territories. Commenting on this ambitious move, Bretton remarks:

If he did not regard himself as another Lenin, Nkrumah most likely did see himself as the African leader whose historic mission and opportunity it was to bring Lenin's vision into being on the African continent.<sup>3</sup>

Nkrumah successfully adopted several measures to establish a personal rule in Ghana to enable him to achieve his political objectives. These measures included the following: a Deportation Act which empowered the Government to expel non-Ghanaians whose presence was considered inimical to national interests; a Preventive Detention Act under which Nkrumah's political opponents could be imprisoned without trial; a law against treason and sedition with the death penalty for treason and imprisonment for sedition; the establishment of a republican constitution under which President Nkrumah was

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 34.





empowered to legislate by decree; the abolition of all political parties except the Convention People's Party to ensure the establishment of a one-party political system.

By 1965, the central fact of Ghanaian political life was Nkrumah's undisputed monopoly of legitimacy. In the press, on the radio and practically everywhere there were numerous references to him as Fount of Honour, Father of the Nation, Founder of the Nation, the Leader, Osagyefo, His High Messianic Dedication, Nkrumah of Africa. In the sphere of Government, Nkrumah's word alone regulated political thought, program directives and laws. It was essential, at all levels, for every proposal to have or assume to have his approval before it was considered legitimate.

The Ghanaian Press was under the control of President Nkrumah whose agents ensured that it conformed to the ideology of the Party. The press in the country was made to engage in a systematic indoctrination of the people. The following extract from a Party newspaper shows the trend at this time:

Our Party is a revolutionary movement with one ideology, Nkrumaism, and one Leader, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, from whom the Party derives its ideology. In order to belong to it and to be true to it, one must fall in line with the Leader, accept the ideology in its fullest depth and close the mind to all thought alien to his.<sup>4</sup>

Nkrumaism itself was a nebulous concept. From the author's own experience in Ghana there were several occasions when top Party

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<sup>4</sup>The Ghanaian Times, March 13, 1965, Accra, Ghana.



officials could not clearly explain this concept at public lectures and in seminars. Nkrumaist ideology did not appear to be a coherent identifiable set of ideas and social concepts but "a propagandist device to convey to the public a sense of purpose not necessarily related to what was actually transpiring at the policy - and decision-making levels."<sup>5</sup>

A senior lecturer on the staff of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute who had defected to London, wrote the following in the early part of 1966: "No one really knew what Nkrumaism was. After many months of intensive discussions, the Institute finally came up with an official definition that was approved by the Leader himself:

Nkrumaism is the ideology of the New Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of a one and united Africa drawing its strength from modern science and technology, and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

What this meant no one could understand, but all agreed that it was the true messianic revelation."<sup>6</sup>

Although Nkrumaism was a nebulous concept, it was tolerated by a majority of Ghanaians as a result of pressure exerted by the Party machinery. The concept was promulgated in schools, at party

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<sup>5</sup> Henry L. Bretton, op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 163.



rallies, at party study groups and other places. People accepted ideology without criticism while simultaneously accepting all measures of the Government without complaint. Obviously criticism exposed one to the danger of victimization. There was neither room for reasoned debate nor the application of liberal and humane reasoning to the whole range of Government. Through propaganda, the regime had virtually succeeded in numbing the collective mind of Ghana.

It is a fact that the maximum utilization of a nation's resources demands the fullest possible development of the society's critical faculties and collective brain power, and the ability to bring this power to bear on governmental functions. A Government learns by performance, correcting its actions as information is fed back to it. The ability of a Government to improve and modernize in all spheres of activity depends largely on the extent to which information is received by the decision-makers, the quality of that information and the extent to which it passes freely through the channels of communication.

Nkrumah's personal rule, instead of maximizing the information, learning and correcting capacity of the governmental system, rather produced confusion and multiplied the opportunities for information to be blocked, lost or diverted. He had surrounded himself with flatterers who feared to tell him the truth. Furthermore, he had purged his environment of intellectually superior and independent-minded individuals. He apparently feared the intellectuals who might





criticize his policies. Some of the intellectuals, for fear of victimization, had fled the country.<sup>7</sup> Those who remained refrained from making any critical remarks about Government measures or party ideology. Commenting on this state of affairs, Bretton states:

The demoralization and temporary deintellectualization of Ghana's intelligentsia, the isolation of Ghana's youth from the mainsprings of twentieth-century thought under a regime of intellectual protectionism had deprived Ghana, and the social revolution in Africa, of its most critical resource--brain power.<sup>8</sup>

In 1965, Nkrumah appointed a commission headed by the University of Ghana professor of philosophy, W. E. Abraham with powers to inspect publications in bookshops and the libraries of schools, colleges and universities, to ensure the removal from the country of publications which did not reflect the Party's ideology.<sup>9</sup>

This development in Ghana is an illustration of the situation described by James Coleman as post-independence anti-intellectualism.<sup>10</sup> What generally happens in the newly independent nations is that the educated persons in the top political positions begin to fear the younger, better educated generation. These young intellectuals are

<sup>7</sup>For example, Dr. K. A. Busia fled to The Hague, Holland; Modjaben Dowuona, registrar of the University of Ghana fled to Nigeria.

<sup>8</sup>Henry L. Bretton, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>9</sup>Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966, p. 331.

<sup>10</sup>James S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965, pp. 27-28, 37-38.



looked upon by the ruling class as a threat to their existence. The result is the development of anti-intellectualism by those in power.

As Pye puts it,

Those who have been exposed to modern forms of knowledge are precisely the ones who are most anxious to obstruct the continued diffusion of the effects of that knowledge; they desperately need to hold on to what they have and avoid all risks.<sup>11</sup>

At the core of such developments is distrust, fear or envy of the better educated. The general result is that "education comes to be ambivalently valued: it is not disesteemed; it is feared."<sup>12</sup>

#### The Seven-Year Development Plan

The Seven-Year Development Plan was the first real plan which set out the policies and objectives of the Convention People's Party Government. The Plan covered the period 1963-1970. The principal objectives which the Nkrumah Government hoped to achieve by the Plan were four-fold. First, there was the fundamental objective of full employment. Secondly, it was planned to modernize agriculture and embark on extensive industrialization. Thirdly, it was hoped that with the maximum development of the economy, Ghana would be able to play her full part in a pan-African economic community. Fourthly, the Government was to participate fully in economic activity to ensure that its socialist policies would be implemented.

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<sup>11</sup> Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's search for Identity, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962, p. 220.

<sup>12</sup> James S. Coleman, op. cit., p. 28.





The Plan had been devised after President Nkrumah and some of his ministers had paid a visit to the Soviet Union and other East European countries in 1961. During their visit they had the chance to have explained to them the techniques of planning in those countries. Having been impressed by the rapid economic development that these countries had made, the Government decided to launch the Seven-Year Development Plan, possessing the basic characteristics of Socialist Development plans.

In launching the Plan, President Nkrumah emphasized the necessity for state participation in economic activity in line with the common practice in Socialist countries. The modernization of agriculture and the development of new industries would require trained and skilled manpower. In this regard the President said:

In order to be able to manage these new investments as well as our existing capital with the maximum of efficiency, the country needs a well trained labour force under competent management. In this sense, the educational programme under the Plan is crucial to the success of the whole Plan. It is directed towards giving education in Ghana a new and more practical orientation and making it available to all who can profit from it.<sup>13</sup>

The need to embark on large scale industrialization and modernized agriculture stemmed from the realization that in almost all the poor countries of the world a very large percentage of the population was engaged in agriculture, whereas in the highly developed

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<sup>13</sup> Blueprint of our Goal, Osagyefo Launches Seven Year Plan,  
Accra: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1964, p. 8.



nations a smaller percentage was thus engaged, as illustrated by the following table:

TABLE XXVII  
PROPORTION OF WORKING POPULATION ENGAGED  
IN AGRICULTURE (1963)<sup>14</sup>

	Percentage	Per Capita National Income
India	70	£ 25
Ghana	62	70
Japan	39	121
Denmark	23	370
U.S.A.	12	801
U.K.	5	384

The reason for the greater degree of per capita national income in U.S.A. and the other advanced countries is that by raising the productivity of agriculture through the use of better methods, a much higher output had been achieved, using less labour, and thus releasing people to go to other forms of work, particularly manufacturing industries. Ghana, one of the poor countries, had a high proportion of her population locked up in agriculture. The Seven Year Development Plan was aimed at correcting this situation. In order to achieve the objectives of modernizing agriculture and developing industries it was necessary for education to undergo a revolutionary change to be able to produce the required quantity and quality of manpower to implement the Plan.

<sup>14</sup>Ghana, Seven Year Development Plan, A Brief Outline, Accra: Office of the Planning Commission, 1964, p. 3.



Under the Plan it was expected that recruitment of school pupils to secondary schools would be from the top class in the primary schools, leaving the middle schools as continuing schools with a strong vocational bias for those who could not enter secondary schools. The middle school course would take only two years instead of four. Also, the five-year secondary school course was to be reduced to four years so that students would complete their secondary education one year earlier. These changes would reduce the time required for a complete education from primary school to university, from the prevailing eighteen years to fifteen years. The objective was to produce the required personnel for national development in the shortest possible time. It was anticipated by the planners that the reductions in the time factor at school would have the effect of making available 300,000 additional employees with varying levels of education by 1970.<sup>15</sup>

The expenditure on education under the first and consolidation plans, 1951-1959, had been £17 million. Under the Seven Year Development Plan the expenditure was to increase to £64 million.<sup>16</sup>

The table below indicates the rate of educational expansion which was planned during the seven year period from 1963 to 1970:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 28.





TABLE XXVIII  
ESTIMATED GROWTH IN SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1963-1970<sup>17</sup>

	Total Enrolment 1963	Total Enrolment 1969 (estimated)
Primary and Middle	1,200,000	2,200,000
Secondary	23,000	78,000
Teacher Training	6,000	21,000
Technical	4,000	6,000
Clerical Training	100	5,000
Universities	2,000	5,000

The planners estimated that this expansion program would require 40,000 additional teachers in the schools and universities. This huge figure suggested that the Plan was rather too ambitious and bound to be impracticable in view of the Government's diminishing financial resources as well as the general shortage of qualified teachers particularly in the primary, middle and secondary schools. However, it was anticipated that as a result of the expansion, educational institutions would provide a total of 861,000 educated Ghanaians to fill various posts in Government, business and industry. The total of 861,000 was made up as follows:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



Middle and Continuing Schools	750,000
Secondary Schools	46,000
Universities	9,000
Trade and Technical Schools	14,000
Teacher Training Colleges	31,000
Office Clerical	<u>11,000</u>
Total	<u>861,000</u>

Together with those already employed, these 861,000 persons would provide the manpower necessary for the implementation of the Plan. Of this stated number, 109,000 persons were to be in the high level category of manpower.

Commenting on the apparent impracticability of the Plan, Birmingham makes the following remarks:

The planners recognize that it will not be possible for the educational system to produce 109,000 high level workers that they estimate will be needed. They foresee a short fall of 41,500, which must be made up by in-service training schemes, by importing people from abroad and by the use of unqualified personnel. Even so, it may be impossible to fill all these posts. Probably the most difficult bottleneck of all will be at the top of the tree, in the administrative-managerial category. The universities are expected to contribute 1,500 to the total plan requirement of 6,900 but the rest must somehow be found within industry or in other countries.<sup>19</sup>

After three years of its operation, the Seven Year Development Plan was abolished by the National Liberation Council immediately after February 24, 1966 when the Nkrumah regime was overthrown in a military coup d'etat.

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<sup>19</sup>W. Birmingham et al, A Study of Contemporary Ghana, Vol. I. The Economy of Ghana, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1966, p. 153.





### Politics and Education

The totalitarian regime of Nkrumah had considerable influence on Ghana's education program. Nkrumah adopted several measures to ensure that education would be strongly identified with Party ideology. This kind of development has been explained by Mason as follows:

.....when the state takes the form of a dictatorship as in Hitlerite Germany, or is the expression of a Party that allows no opposition, as in Russia, its dominance of the schools is fatal to the democratic idea. Education then becomes propaganda in its worst sense, and the schools become part of the political machinery of the person or party in power.<sup>20</sup>

This was precisely what happened in Ghana because the educational system became part of the political machinery of President Nkrumah. The principal means of achieving this was through the establishment of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement in all primary, middle, secondary and technical schools and universities, as well as the opening of branches of the Convention People's Party in the universities.

The Ghana Young Pioneer Movement was founded by President Nkrumah on June 14, 1960. The Kwame Nkrumah Youth Training School was inaugurated in November 1960 for the training of the leaders of the Ghana Young Pioneers. In the same month, the movement was placed within the province of the Ministry of Education to ensure that every school in the country participated fully in it.

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<sup>20</sup>R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 6.



The aims of the Ghana Young Pioneers (G.Y.P.) were as follows:

To train the mind, the body and soul of the youth of Ghana; to train them to be up to their civic responsibilities so as to fulfil their patriotic duties; to train their technical skills according to their talents; to foster the spirit of voluntaryism, love and devotion to the welfare of the Ghana Nation; to inculcate into the youth Nkrumaism - the ideals of African personality, African unity, world peace, social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa in particular and the world in general.<sup>21</sup>

The G.Y.P. was organized into four age groupings as follows:<sup>22</sup>

<u>Age in Years</u>	<u>Category</u>
4 - 7	African Personality
8 - 16	Young Pioneers
17 - 20	Kwame Nkrumah Youth
21 - 25	Young Party League

The African Personality group comprised pre-school children as well as school children in primary classes I and II. The Young Pioneers comprised all children in primary class III right up to middle form four class. Young students in secondary schools also belonged to the Young Pioneer category, but the senior students belonged to the Kwame Nkrumah Youth. The Young Party League category was filled mainly by school leavers and university undergraduates. All educational institutions in the country had branches of the movement.

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<sup>21</sup>Education Report, 1960-62, Accra: Ghana Ministry of Education, 1963, p. 42.

<sup>22</sup>Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa, Accra: Ghana Ministry of Information, 1966, p. 49.



The training program for each group consisted of ideological indoctrination, cultural education (traditional music and folklore), hobbies, physical education and special projects such as mass rallies celebrating various anniversaries significant to Nkrumah.

Answering a question on the movement in the Ghana Parliament the Deputy Minister of Education, Mrs. Susana Al-Hassan said:

The activities of the Ghana Young Pioneers have been incorporated in the new syllabus now in use in the Primary and Middle Schools. Before the new syllabus was introduced into schools, refresher courses were held for teachers all over the country and the important aspects of the new syllabus were pointed out to them.<sup>23</sup>

Also, Marxism was taught to the students in the upper categories of the movement.

The Young Pioneer Pledge made Nkrumah the sole object of emulation. Its first stanza began thus: "I sincerely promise to live by the ideals of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the State of Ghana and Initiator of African Personality." It ended as follows: "I believe that the Dynamic Convention Peoples' Party (C.P.P.) is always supreme and I promise to be worthy of its ideals."<sup>24</sup>

The Communist countries gave assistance to the movement. Several training scholarships were offered to Ghana Youth Leaders who attended various courses in the communist countries including

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<sup>23</sup> Ghana: Parliamentary Debates, Official Report - First Series Volume 34, 15th October 1963 - 21st Feb. 1964, column 21.

<sup>24</sup> Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa, op. cit., p. 49.





Russia, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. The G.Y.P. movement was banned by the National Liberation Council of Ghana on March 7, 1966.

In addition to the G.Y.P. which was made compulsory, all educational institutions studied Nkrumaism. Copies of Nkrumah's books were stocked in the libraries. The books referred to were as follows: Consciencism, Africa Must Unite, I Speak of Freedom, Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. In primary and middle schools, the simplified version of Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah was made a textbook for regular study.

Furthermore, regular lectures on Nkrumaism and socialism were given by Party officials in all educational institutions. In addition, C.P.P. study groups were established in secondary schools, teacher training colleges and the universities to engage in a thorough study of Party ideology.

Another aspect of politics and education worth mentioning may be termed the "devaluation of education."<sup>25</sup> In Nkrumah's Ghana, political power had gravitated toward persons of lower educational attainments. People with high intellectual attainments were not drawn into the policy-making ranks of the C.P.P. As Apter says of

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<sup>25</sup>James S. Coleman, op. cit., p. 38.



the intelligentsia: "They are not made Cabinet ministers. They do not replace the less educated ministerial secretaries. There is little room for most of them in the C.P.P."<sup>26</sup> As has been explained earlier this stemmed mainly from Nkrumah's fear of open-minded intellectuals who could criticize his policies and therefore constituted a threat to the stability of his regime.

The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute was the major organ Nkrumah established to promote the perpetuation of his political ideology not only in Ghana but also throughout Africa. It was decreed into existence by Nkrumah on February 18, 1961 and was located in Winneba, about forty miles west of Accra.

The declared aims of the Institute were as follows:<sup>27</sup>

1. To train socialist Ghanaians capable of taking into their hands the key posts in all sectors of the apparatus of the State and the economy, and to take an active part in the socialist programme of the Convention People's Party;
2. to train African Freedom Fighters in the spirit of the African revolution, pan-Africanism and socialism in such a way that when they return to their homelands they will be better armed to take an active part in liberating their countries from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;
3. to train Africans in the spirit of pan-Africanism as a method of making progress toward African Union;
4. to train Africans in the spirit of Nkrumaism which is considered like the development of Marxism in conditions and circumstances peculiar to Africa.

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<sup>26</sup>David E. Apter, Ghana in Transition, New York: Atheneum, 1966, p. 296.

<sup>27</sup>Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa, op. cit., p. 44.





5. to train Africans in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

A two-year diploma program was offered. The following subjects constituted the courses of study as the Institute: sociology, government, politics, Nkrumaism and international affairs.

Late in 1964, the Government ordered that all students in Ghana's three universities should report for a short course at the Institute. The announcement in the Party newspaper, Evening News, stated: "Too many of our teachers and students are quite ignorant of the simple underlying principles of Nkrumaism."<sup>28</sup> This explains the compulsory course at the Institute for all students entering Ghana's universities. This course lasted two weeks. In addition to the two-week course, undergraduates from the universities were selected by the C.P.P. for an additional ten-week leadership training course. After the course the students returned to their respective universities to serve as the nucleus for C.P.P. branches.

It may be remarked that despite the presence of brainwashed C.P.P. activists in their midst, the students of Ghana's universities did not flock to the C.P.P. standard. However, it is a fact that C.P.P. branches were established in all the universities as well as the secondary schools and teacher training colleges.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 46.



The Institute was closed down by the National Liberation Council soon after the coup d'etat by the army on February 24, 1966. It has now been converted into a Teacher-Training College.

### Academic Freedom and University Autonomy

Fuchs defines academic freedom as follows:

that freedom of members of the academic community, assembled in colleges and universities, which underlies the effective performance of their functions of teaching, learning, practice of the arts and research. The right of academic freedom is recognized in order to enable<sup>29</sup> faculty members and students to carry on their roles.

Evidently academic freedom cannot exceed the liberties allowed by the law of a country. A country which does not permit freedom of speech and publication to its ordinary citizens cannot grant academic freedom to its universities. When this happens a university cannot flourish. Such a situation developed in Ghana during the period between 1961 and 1966.

Autonomy refers to the independence of a university, a situation where the institution is not subject to supervision by any authority above its own self-perpetuating board of trustees. To be autonomous a university must be free to select its students and its staff and to determine the conditions under which they remain in the university. It should freely establish its own standards and decide to whom to award its degrees. It should freely design its own

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<sup>29</sup>Eric Ashby, op. cit., p. 291.



curriculum although it may in practice have to do so within certain constraints. Also, it should freely decide how to allocate Government grants among the different categories of expenditure. Also, in a university where non-academics participate in its self-government, and where they are in a majority on the body where sovereignty lies, it is essential that non-academics should identify themselves with the university and not consider themselves representatives of outside interests. Furthermore, it is necessary that all academic decisions should be delegated to the academics themselves.

Commenting on the necessity for maintaining these conditions, Ashby states:

Without this internal coherence and internal balance of power, a university may be free of intervention from outside, and yet have its autonomy betrayed from inside. Several cases of this sort have occurred in African universities.<sup>30</sup>

The University of Ghana was a case in point.

The University College of the Gold Coast, which later became the University of Ghana, started off with an ordinance which provided for a predominantly lay council to control financial affairs and to take ultimate responsibility for the college, and an academic board to which educational policy was to be delegated. But David Balme, the first principal, superimposed on this ordinance a simplified version of the machinery found in the University of Cambridge. The basic principles underlying the government in Cambridge are here given.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 296.





The first principle is that only persons on the roll of graduates should have a voice in the university's affairs. The second is that sovereignty resides in all the masters of arts resident in Cambridge who take part in the work of the university or its colleges and who by reason of this work are members of the regent house. The third principle is that the bodies which prepare policy for the regent house shall not be composed of the most senior officers of the university nor of those who by virtue of their appointments have to carry the most responsibility, but of democratically elected representatives of the faculties.

These three principles of Cambridge University were incorporated into the government of the University College of the Gold Coast by the first principal. Thus between 1948 and 1961 the University College was administered according to the ordinance as well as a set of by-laws patterned after Cambridge University. In 1961 the constitution was abolished. By the Ghana University Act, 1961, Nkrumah as President of the Republic of Ghana became the Chancellor of the University. The new constitution made it possible for Nkrumah to control university policy and government. Reference has already been made to this new constitution as well as the composition of the university council. (See page 130)

The constitution could not preserve autonomy or academic freedom in the University of Ghana. This was because of the Government's disregard for the constitution. In May 1961, shortly



before the College achieved the status of an independent university, President Nkrumah took a step which evidently aimed at destroying the autonomy of the institution. An eyewitness account of the circumstance of this matter is here given by Adam Curle:

Then late in May an undated letter (actually despatched on the 22nd of the month) was received by the Principal from the President's Office. The main burden of this communication was that in the circumstances of transmuting the University College into a University 'all appointments of members of the academic staff will automatically be terminated.' Those who wished to apply for reappointment must do so by 10th June. A further letter dated 27th May indicated that persons would be re-appointed without re-applying, but that it might 'be necessary to terminate certain appointments and to revise the conditions of service of others.' These letters and the exchanges, both official and unofficial, to which they led, indicated that the President had at last decided to intervene in the affairs of the College, to get rid of persons who were for one reason or another undesirable, and to arrange for closer Government (or party) control of the institution.<sup>31</sup>

Despite violent protests both within and outside Ghana, the Government terminated six appointments including that of the Ghanaian registrar, Modjaben Dowuona.<sup>32</sup>

In July 1961, when the University of Ghana bill was being debated in the Ghana parliament, Mr. Appiah, a member of the House made the following statement:

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 328.

<sup>32</sup> For fear of detention, Dowuona left Ghana and sought employment as Registrar of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.





Now it is said in Clause 11 of the bill that internal organization of the University shall be left in the hands of the University Council. I sincerely trust and hope that the Government mean what they have here (sic) in this Bill because we did have a University Council for the University College of Ghana at Legon and yet we know for a fact that directives came over their heads, sometimes reaching the goal of their object before even the University Council itself had occasion to hear about them. This kind of thing will not do and if they want to set up a truly independent University they must make sure that every clause in this Bill is respected .....<sup>33</sup>

Despite the Government's assurances to respect university autonomy, there were several occasions when it meddled with matters which were within the province of the university. For instance, it interfered with autonomy in respect of the appointment of professors.

Similarly, the Government meddled with the academic affairs of the university. It interfered with academic standards when in April 1962 the cabinet decided that university entrance examinations should be abolished and the school certificate be taken as a sufficient qualification for admission. This was a lowering of standards. The step was taken to enable as many vacant places as possible at the University to be filled. Also, later in 1962 Nkrumah announced that English language would be abolished as a compulsory subject for the purpose of obtaining a West African school certificate for Ghanaian candidates and that the 230 candidates who were failed in the 1962 School Certificate Examination because of

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<sup>33</sup>Eric Ashby, op. cit., p. 328. Cited from Second Reading University of Ghana Bill, 31 July 1961, Ghana Parliamentary Debate, 24, col. 880 ff.



failure in English language would be granted passes, provided they qualified for passes in all the other subjects.<sup>34</sup>

On January 8, 1964, six members of the academic staff of the University of Ghana were expelled: four Americans, one West Indian and one Englishman. It was stated that they had been indulging in subversive activities prejudicial to the security of the state. One of the victims, W. B. Harvey, an American who had been the dean of the law faculty, came heavily under attack in the Ghana press which charged him with having discussed apartheid in his lectures. This was obviously an infringement of academic freedom.

Later on, a presidential command came to the vice-chancellor to remove the Institute of Education immediately to the University College of Cape Coast, about a hundred miles away. The University Council was not consulted about this matter although the Institute was a statutory portion of the University. When the academic board of the University asked the council to protest against the measure, the council refused to do so, on the grounds that the decision had already been taken by the Government. The reason, of course, was that the lay members of council who in an English university would have regarded themselves as inside, and part of, a self-governing body, in Ghana could not be assumed to have this attitude since they were Nkrumah's puppets. The Vice-chancellor, Conor Cruise O'Brien, commenting on this situation during his 1965 congregation address

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 329-330.





made the following remark: "..... the internal structure of the University was changed by a Government decision, its organizational autonomy disregarded and its constitutional processes overridden."<sup>35</sup> Despite these developments, O'Brien remained hopeful and optimistic. He remarked:

The constitution of the University, the Act and our University Statutes which, although of recent enactment by our Council, enshrine principles of academic freedom which are very old, will be respected and our academy will flourish.<sup>36</sup>

Although O'Brien correctly stated that the autonomy of the University was on paper, well established, strictly speaking this was no guarantee of autonomy. The Ghanaian Times for April 3, 1965, quoted a passage from the University of Ghana Act, 1961, which stated that Nkrumah as President of the republic of Ghana "shall hold the office of Chancellor and as such shall be the Head of the University," and also that "a person shall not be appointed as Vice-chancellor unless his appointment has been approved by the Chancellor." The editorial drew two conclusions, namely, (i) that Nkrumah "as head of the university has under the Act the right to participate in its direction" and (ii) that "since the chancellor has to approve the appointment of the vice-chancellor, the vice-chancellor is his employee, obliged to carry out his requests."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> University of Ghana Reporter, 4, No. 21 (23, April, 1965) Legon, Accra: p. 268.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>37</sup> Eric Ashby, op. cit., pp. 331-332.





These examples are given to show that Nkrumah paid much lip service to university autonomy and academic freedom. The actions he took were directly opposed to the principles he purported to uphold. Speaking on what he called perversion of academic freedom at a University dinner he said:

There is, however, sometimes a tendency to use the words 'academic freedom' in another sense and to assert the claim that a university is more or less an institution of learning having no respect or allegiance to the community or to the country in which it exists and purports to serve. This assertion is unsound in principle and objectionable in practice. The University has a clear duty to the community which maintains it and which has the right to expect concern for its pressing needs. We know that academic freedom can be perverted and even abused. It can also become a dangerous cloak for activities outside the academic interests and pre-occupations of the community or of the University.<sup>38</sup>

Nkrumah then gave to every person in the University a charge which virtually amounted to each spying on the other to find out those opposed to the party ideology. He said:

University staff and students themselves have a grave responsibility in maintaining this freedom, since they themselves can also be a threat to academic freedom of the university. They must always be ready to expose those individuals in the university itself who abuse academic freedom.<sup>39</sup>

What the President meant by abuse of academic freedom was evidently a reference to those who refused to accept the Party ideology.

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<sup>38</sup>The Role of Our Universities, Speech delivered by Osagyefo the President at University Dinner on Sunday, 24th February 1963, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Accra, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 3.



Throughout the universities of Ghana the intelligence service was at work to rake up for punishment those who opposed the dictatorial tendencies of the Government. Party officers ensured the dissemination of Party ideology through C.P.P. study groups and lectures organized by the National Association of Socialist Students Organization. These developments created an atmosphere unfavourable to freedom of speech and reasoned debate thus virtually reducing the university population to a state of intellectual slavery.





## CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in this study to examine some of the political, social and economic factors underlying the changing patterns of Ghana's education during the three distinctive periods in the country's history, namely (1) the colonial period, (2) the decade 1951-1961 comprising the transition to independence as well as the first few years after independence, and (3) the period of totalitarian rule under President Nkrumah between 1961 and 1966.

The colonial pattern of education was characterized by an absence of comprehensive national planning and policy. In most cases plans and improvements were of a piecemeal nature and dictated largely by the needs of the hour. Nevertheless, the energetic efforts of Sir Gordon Guggisberg - one of the last Colonial Governors in the country - have to be seen as a genuine attempt by a non-Ghanaian administrator to lay the foundations for a sound educational system. The participation of the Colonial Government in the provision of education was at a minimum; the various voluntary agencies were left to provide the majority of schools and received Government grants-in-aid for this purpose. Guggisberg provided useful guide lines for educational activity and his creation, Achimota College, became a first class model for secondary and higher education throughout West Africa.



The independence pattern of education showed how rising nationalism and the preparation for political independence compelled the Government to accelerate educational development in order to produce the necessary manpower for the development of the emerging nation. The Government during the transitional period was a coalition of native African politicians and colonial officials about to hand over power to the Africans. The Accelerated Development Plan for education was one of the boldest ventures in educational planning ever attempted in Africa. By sheer numbers, much was achieved as evidenced by the numerous schools and colleges established throughout the country. However, the quality of education, especially at the primary level had to fall inevitably owing to the large-scale employment of unqualified teachers necessary for the implementation of the plan.

Excessive Government expenditure after 1960 -- both internally and externally -- brought a severe strain on the economy as a whole. Nevertheless, the Government maintained its heavy expenditure on education, approximately thirteen percent of total national expenditure being in the field of education. The Education Act of 1961 was a significant development in the post-independence period. The Act gave legal sanction to administrative changes that had occurred in the earlier years and also included several new features most notable of which was the introduction of compulsory education.



In the Nkrumaist pattern, 1961-66, educational activity was dominated by and closely geared to the political machinery of Nkrumah's totalitarian regime. This domination was maintained largely by the organization of the Convention People's Party, the introduction of the Young Pioneer movement, the supporting role of the Winneba Ideological Institute and the prevalent austerity government measures ever ready to be applied to those who opposed the Government program of spreading Party ideology throughout the educational system. The indoctrination of school pupils and college students as well as the attempt to control the content of educational material, and the absence of free speech and reasoned argument on political issues, gradually resulted in the virtual de-intellectualisation of Ghanaian scholars.

In commenting on possible future trends one may make the following remarks. Despite the efforts of the all-African Government since 1957, many problems have persisted in the educational system. Mention has already been made of some of these. Future planning will have to give serious consideration to the problem of wastage and absenteeism in the schools. Sickness and malnutrition are some causes of these. Poorly nourished pupils tend to have a decreased capacity to learn; they are generally weak and inattentive in class. Poor health militates against the efficiency of pupils, some of whom may eventually have to withdraw from school. Coupled with this problem is the fact that hospitals and doctors in Ghana are few in



in computing on possible future trends one may note the following features. Despite the efforts of the educational system since 1950, many problems have persisted in the educational system and numerous already made or some of these. Future planning will have to give more consideration to the problem of waste and automation in the schools. Success and motivation are some of the factors which should be considered. Pupils tend to have a decreased ability to learn; they are generally weak and inefficient in class. Their health declines against the efficiency of pupils, some of whom are eventually have to withdraw from school. Pupils with more knowledge as well as their discipline and conduct in school are few in number.

relation to the total population so that the typical Ghanaian pupil can only have the minimum of medical attention. The national health program would have to be reorganized to make it possible for all schools to be fully covered by medical services. Also the opening of cafeterias in schools could help to ensure the provision of nutritious meals to pupils.

In Ghana university education has been free since the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast in 1948. This policy was deliberately calculated to ensure that enough persons could be attracted for training to provide the high-level manpower needed for national development. The cost to the Government is considerable. It is to be hoped that this trend may be allowed to continue till such time that enough qualified university graduates are available to fill the top posts in commerce, industry, Government and the teaching service.

Secondary education is popular but expensive, especially in the boarding schools. The abolition of tuition fees and provision of free textbooks by the Nkrumah Government were intended to give some relief to parents. Nevertheless, the provision of clothing, the meeting of incidental expenses and the payment of boarding fees constitute a problem to some parents. Is it too revolutionary to suggest that the boarding schools be converted into day schools in order to eliminate the boarding fees?



The great length of time (about 16 years) spent in school by pupils before proceeding to the university continues to be a problem. Its solution lies in eliminating the middle school and making the secondary school follow the primary school directly. The present low level of academic attainment in most of the primary schools may not make this possible in the short run. It has been the Government's unrealized aim that entrants to secondary schools should be wholly recruited from the top class (P6) of the primary school. If implemented, the present four-year middle schools from which secondary school entrants are recruited, would be converted into vocational institutions for those who can not proceed to the secondary schools. The Nkrumah Government expressed this desire on several occasions. Commenting on the failure of the Ghana Government to promote vocational and agricultural training in the schools, Foster states:

The apparent paradox in Ghanaian education has been the emphasis placed upon vocational and agricultural training in all documentary sources and the relative absence of it within the actual system of education.<sup>40</sup>

The failure has been due partly to lack of staff, finance and equipment; partly also it has been due to the popular distrust of vocational instruction as something inferior to academic education. Since Ghana is predominantly an agricultural country which is also endeavouring to industrialize the economy, it would be necessary to relate the

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<sup>40</sup> Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," Education and the Development of Nations, J. W. Hanson and C. S. Brembeck (ed.) New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, p. 169.





educational system more effectively to these needs.

In the long run much will depend on an efficient and stable teaching service. Unfortunately, it appears as if the unqualified pupil teachers will continue to constitute a large percentage of the country's teaching force for some time to come. Coupled with this is the drifting away of qualified teachers into more lucrative occupations. Some trained teachers, particularly the young ones, take to teaching as a stepping stone to a much better employment in future. This drifting away of teaching personnel will have to be prevented somehow -- mainly through ensuring better conditions of service for all teachers.

The influence of political control on the educational system has provided a lesson which should be kept in mind in the future. Probably if a truly democratic Government is eventually established in Ghana, the necessary constitutional checks on political authority may operate to prevent the control of education by the political machinery.



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## APPENDIX I

### THE GHANA NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS

Education in Ghana was begun by various religious bodies in the nineteenth century. The teachers of the mission schools came to inherit a long tradition of devoted service and considered teaching as part of sacrificial church work. The result of this was that mission teachers had to be contented with low salaries. Moreover, the multiplicity of missionary bodies each following its own educational policy, did not make for the creation of a unified teaching service with the same conditions of service for all mission teachers. The Government itself did not conduct any schools till the beginning of the twentieth century when it opened a few primary schools and staffed them with teachers who were civil servants. For the first time, therefore, there were teachers with assured conditions of service who could look forward to the security of pensions when they retired from service. It was mainly this discrimination against the mission teachers that compelled them to unite to improve their lot.

The Assisted School Teachers Union was formed in 1932 when the world slump shattered the country's economy and led the Government to reduce educational expenditure; teachers' salaries were





reduced. J.T.N. Yankah, the first president of the union, endeavoured to prevent further reductions contemplated by the Government. His success emboldened the union to organize much more effectively. In 1938, the union assumed the name Gold Coast Teachers' Union and published a journal, The Gold Coast Teacher, which was discontinued during the Second World War. Membership in the Gold Coast Teachers' Union was open to every qualified teacher against whose professional conduct no charge was sustained in respect of the professional code of the Union. A majority of members were members of affiliated bodies such as the Catholic Teachers' Federation, and the Methodist and Presbyterian Teachers' Unions.

In 1947 the Gold Coast Teachers' Union succeeded in achieving equality of pay with Government school teachers. This was the result of the recommendations of the committee appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Thorleif Mangin to review the scale of emoluments of non-Government teachers.

For several years also the Union demanded freedom from the strict discipline of the missions. There had arisen the feeling among many mission teachers that their private lives were being subjected to stricter control than were the lives of teachers employed in government service, in Native Authority schools or in other parts of the world, and that the moral standards demanded of them were higher than in Christian countries outside the Commonwealth. It was commonly held that teachers who were not active in





the life of the church were not considered for responsible positions. As a result of the Union's representations the Erzuah Committee recommended the establishment of a Teachers' Professional Council consisting of the Director of Education, three teachers' representatives and three persons nominated by the Minister of Education; this was the official body to deal with all cases of teachers' professional misconduct and other related matters of discipline.

The Government became increasingly aware of the influence of the Gold Coast Teachers' Union and gave it recognition by giving it a grant of £200 a year. As a result the Union was able to expand its activities and to establish a permanent secretariat in 1953 with E. B. Odunton as its first full-time secretary.

The Ghana Teaching Service, with equal conditions of service for all teachers in the country, was later established by the Government. This automatically abolished the irritable distinction between government and non-government teachers. On September 1, 1956, the Government handed over all its primary and middle schools to Local Authorities and thus stopped employing teachers directly.

Between 1958 and 1962 the Union became one of the wings of the Ghana Trades' Union Congress, an important organ of Nkrumah's C.P.P. Government. In June 1962 the Government decided that the Teachers Union should be dissolved and authorized in its place the formation of a Teachers' professional association which had long been requested by many members of the profession. Accordingly on



July 14 at Achimota, the Minister of Education, inaugurated the Ghana National Association of Teachers (G.N.A.T.).

The constitution of the G.N.A.T. integrates the whole profession and at the same time caters for special sectional interests of the teachers engaged in the following Educational Units: Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Evangelical Presbyterian, A.M.E. Zion, Seventh Day Adventist, Ghana Local Authorities, and the following affiliated associations, namely, Secondary schools, Training College Tutors and Technical Institute Teachers Associations.

The objects of the G.N.A.T. as laid down in its constitution include the following:

1. To co-operate with the Government in all educational matters.
2. To unite the teachers of Ghana so that a united profession can enable teachers to influence educational progress, support scholarly research, advance the collective interest and welfare of all teachers, defend the rights as well as the moral and material interest of the teaching profession.
3. To raise the status of the teaching profession.
4. To place its advice at the disposal of the Government.

The G.N.A.T. has made a remarkable contribution to the cause of education and the teaching profession in Ghana. The following have been some of its achievements:





1. It was instrumental in the introduction of Youth Organizations into the country and the establishment of District Education Committees.
2. It was instrumental in securing the centralisation of school funds.
3. It assisted in the establishment of Boards of Governors and School Councils or Committees for all Secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges.
4. By constitutional means it fought for and obtained pension and gratuity at par with those for Civil Servants, maternity leave for women teachers and free medical attention for all teachers, their wives and children.
5. It has given financial assistance through the Institute of Education, University of Ghana, for investigation into the teaching of science in primary and middle schools and also for remedial teaching in arithmetic.
6. It has submitted evidence and memoranda to National Committees set up to enquire into educational matters, an example being the memorandum submitted to the Committee to review pre-university education in Ghana.

A series of Advisory Committees have been set up by the G.N.A.T. to deal with special problems inside and outside the organization. The Committees cover the following:



- a) Salary, Terms and Conditions of Service
- b) Research
- c) Refresher Courses
- d) Professional Conduct
- e) Public Relations

To keep its members well informed and interest them in educational matters the G.N.A.T. publishes a) a bimonthly News-letter, b) an Annual Report and c) a periodical entitled The Ghana Teacher, which carries articles of original research and international teacher news.

The G.N.A.T. is represented on the following committees to which it makes valuable suggestions:

- a) The National Teacher Training Council
- b) The Teachers' Terms of Service Committee
- c) The Ghana National Commission of UNESCO Education Committee
- d) The West African Examinations Council

In the sphere of international relations, the G.N.A.T. is a member of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (W.C.O.T.P.) to which it was admitted in August 1959. The G.N.A.T. has regularly sent delegates to the Assembly of the W.C.O.T.P. since 1959. The ex-general secretary of the G.N.A.T. was Africa Director of the W.C.O.T.P. in 1962.

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## APPENDIX II

### THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL

The West African Examinations Council was established by Ordinance in 1952 as an independent examining authority responsible for conducting examinations in the four Commonwealth countries of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The Council has its headquarters in Accra, Ghana, and maintains offices in Lagos, Freetown and London. The establishment of the Council is the result of a study and recommendation by Dr. G. B. Jeffery<sup>1</sup> and in its early years owed much to his advice.

Besides organizing common examinations like the West African School Certificates for all the four countries, the Council has relieved the various education departments of much of the work of organizing the special examinations needed in each of them. The most important of these in Ghana are the following:

- Public Service Commission Entrance Examination
- Public Service Commission Promotion Examination
- Common Entrance Examination to Secondary Schools
- Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination
- Teacher Training Entrance Examination
- Teacher Training Qualifying Examination

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<sup>1</sup>Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by Dr. G. B. Jeffery, F.R.S., on a visit to West Africa, (Accra, 1950).





The Council also conducts the General Certificate of Education Examination at both Ordinary and Advanced Levels, as well as examinations for University of London degrees and Diplomas. In Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia, similar examinations are conducted by the Council.

In addition the Council organizes examination centres in West Africa for overseas professional and academic bodies, such as the following:

The Royal Society of Arts

The City and Guilds of London Institute

The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music

The Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants

The Association of International Accountants

British Institute of Management

Corporation of Secretaries

Educational Testing Service (U.S.A.)

Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors

There has been a spectacular yearly growth of the volume of work undertaken by the Council as shown in Figures VI and VII. There has been considerable increase in Committee work in connection with policy formation and with the revision of syllabuses; improvement in examination techniques; extensive schemes to train examiners and objective-test constructors; the take-over of responsibilities from overseas bodies and the acceptance of new commitments such as the



development of technical examinations in Nigeria, the Gambia Common Entrance Examination and the examining of candidates for appointment as pupil teachers in Ghana.

The development of objective testing of attainment and aptitude has been an important aspect of the Council's work in recent years. For some years machine-scored multiple-choice objective tests of attainment have been used for secondary-school entrance examinations as well as the Ghana Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination. In 1962 a specialist unit was established to improve these tests and to carry out research into the possibility of using objective tests as part of the School Certificate and G.C.E. Ordinary Level Examinations. The Unit was staffed initially by two graduate officers who had attended the Summer Workshop at Educational Testing Service (E.T.S.), Princeton, New Jersey, in 1961, and who attended a special course in testing at the University of Chicago during the academic year 1961-62. In subsequent years, several other officers attended the E.T.S. Summer Workshop. In 1965 the Unit had an establishment of nine graduate officers.

Since the Council is a large body which cannot conveniently assemble more than once a year, it has delegated many of its powers to Committees, some national and others international. The Committee membership and structure in each country is such that the Council is kept in touch with changing needs and opinions. There are three main international Committees, namely the Administrative and Finance





Committee; the School Examinations Committee which is responsible for standards, syllabuses and administration of secondary school leaving examinations; the Appointments Committee which deals with the appointment and promotion of staff in the senior grades. A somewhat simplified diagram of the Committee Structure is given in Figure V.

In March 1965 the Council approved the final redraft of the legislation under which it functions. The draft was to be submitted to the Governments which support the Council. The main changes sought were as follows:

- a) provision for the direct representation of the Council of each university or university college in all the countries which support the Council;
- b) provision for the admission to membership of any other West African countries which want it, and for the representation of such countries on the Council;
- c) the establishment of the Administrative and Finance Committee as a statutory committee;
- d) the establishment of the office of Vice-Chairman and the delegation of powers to him in certain circumstances.

In March 1965 the Council was constituted as follows:

The Chairman, Dr. Davidson S.H.W. Nicol, Principal,  
University College of Sierra Leone,

Four members nominated by the Government of Ghana,



Five members nominated by the Ghana National Committee,  
Two members nominated by the Government of Gambia,  
One member nominated by the Gambia Committee,  
Four members nominated by the Government of Nigeria,  
Eight members nominated by the Nigerian National Committee,  
Two observers nominated by the Nigerian National Committee,  
Three members nominated by the Government of Sierra Leone,  
Two members nominated by the Sierra Leone National Committee,  
One member representing the University of Cambridge,  
One member representing the University of London.

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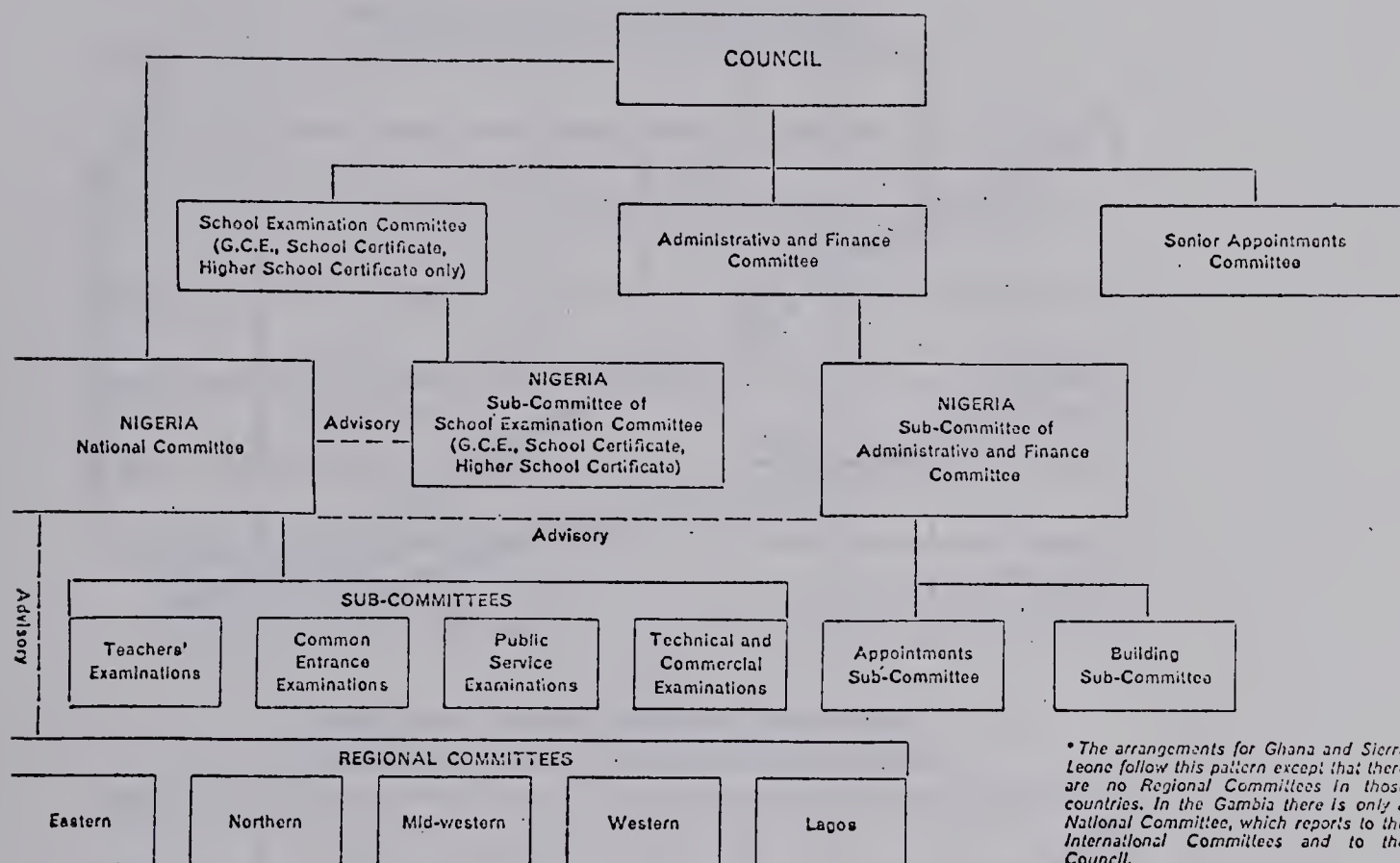


FIGURE 5

THE COMMITTEE STRUCTURE OF THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL  
 (FROM THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL, ANNUAL REPORT  
 FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH, 1965, p. 99)





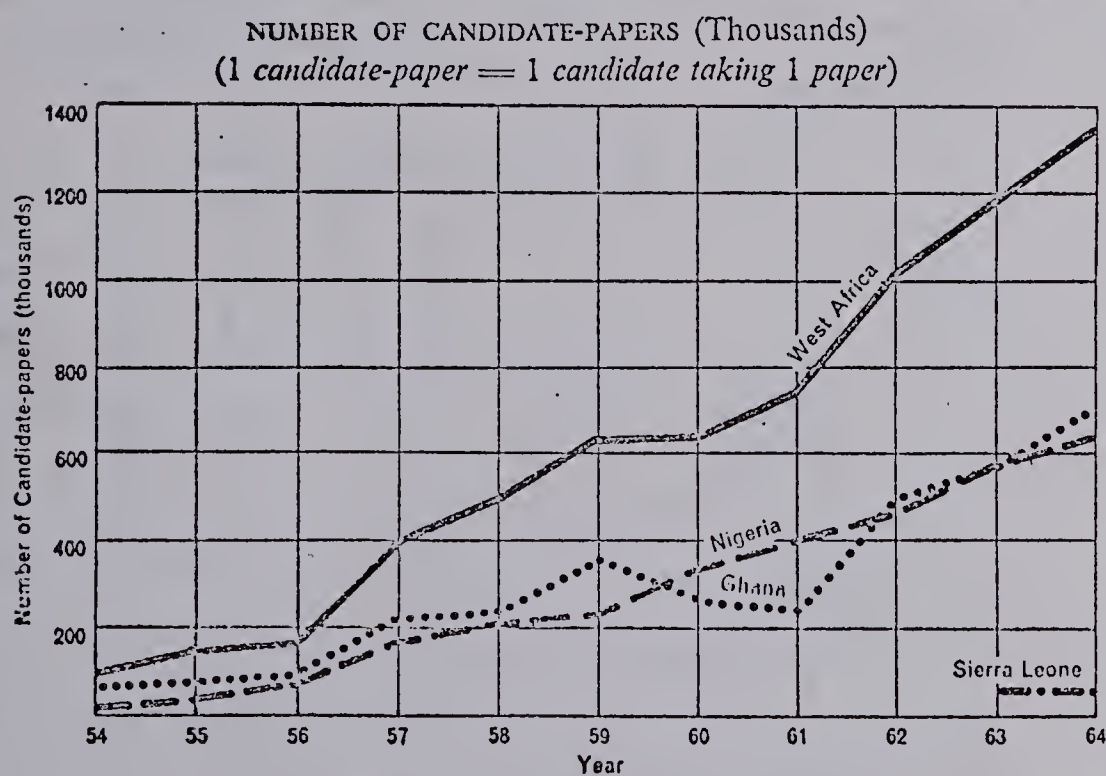
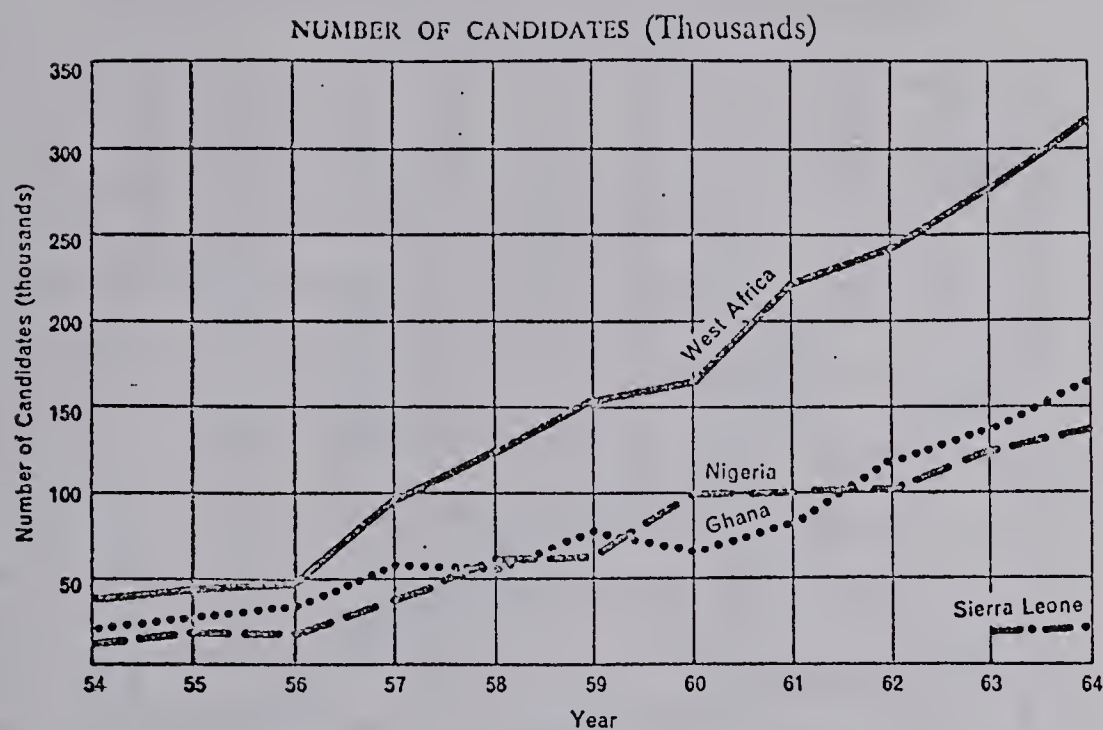


FIGURE 6

GRAPHS SHOWING THE GROWTH IN THE COMMITMENTS OF  
THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL, 1954-1964  
(FROM THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL  
ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH, 1965, p. 109)



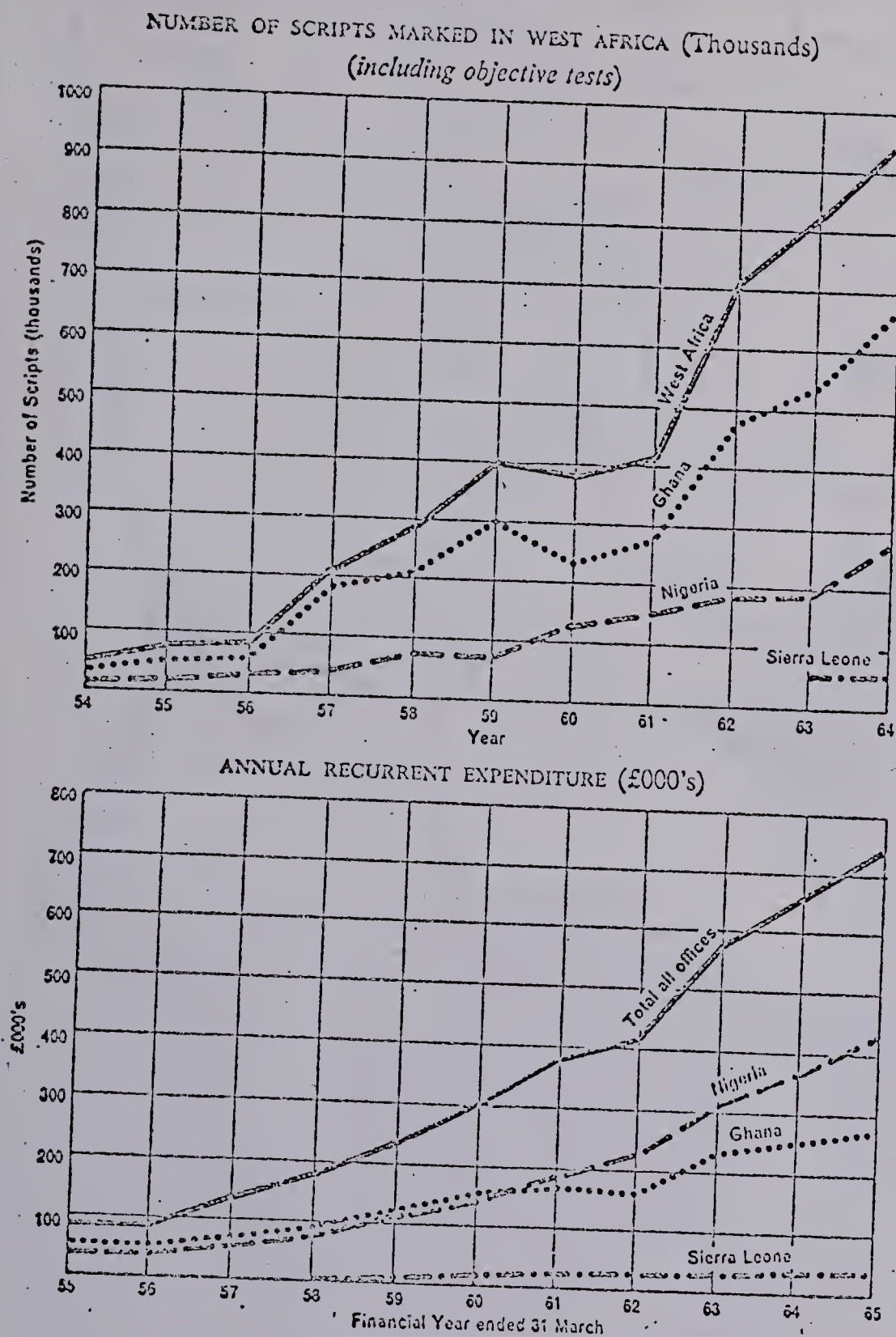


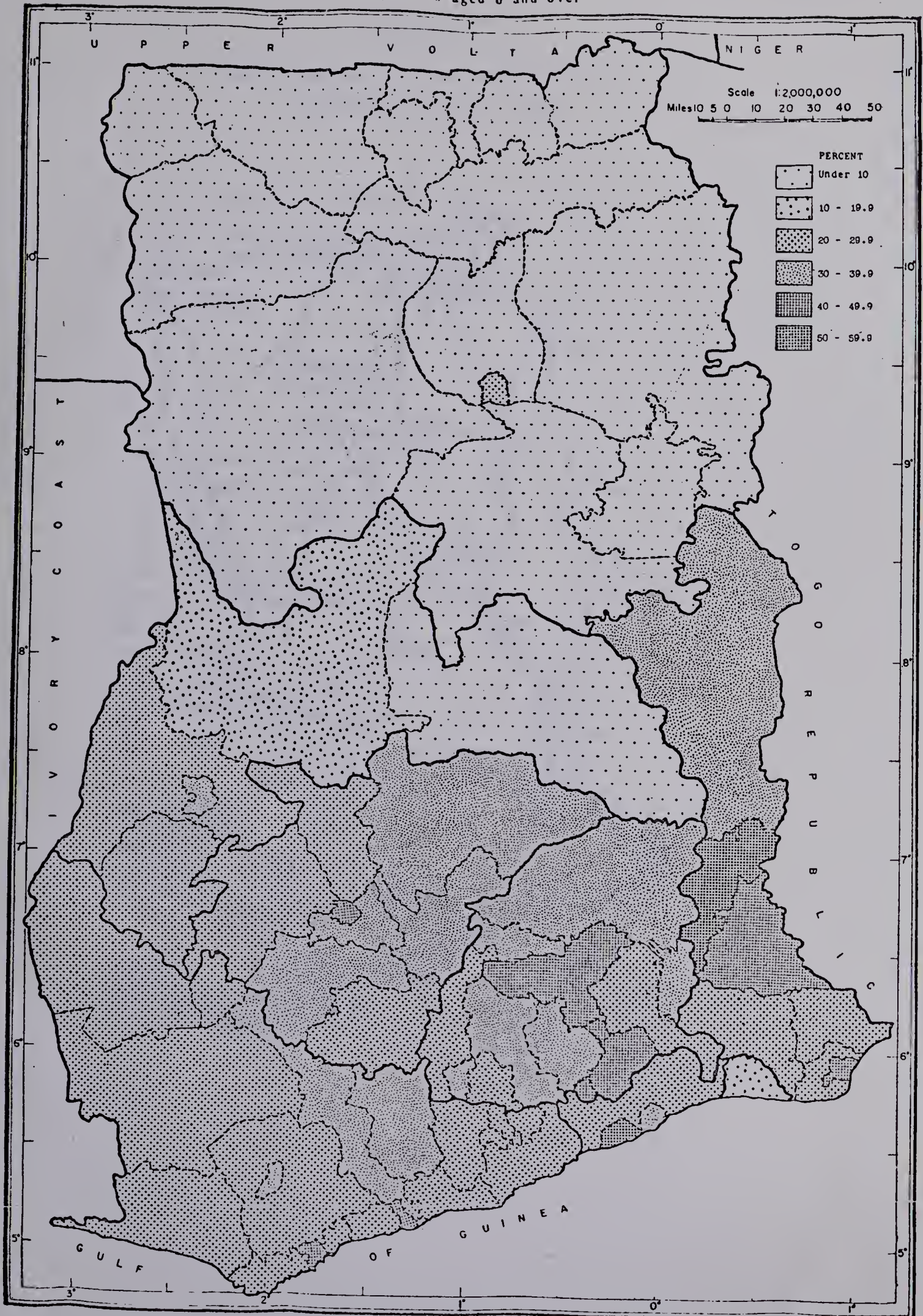
FIGURE 7

GRAPHS SHOWING THE GROWTH IN THE COMMITMENTS OF THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL, 1954-1964 (FROM THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH, 1965, p. 110).





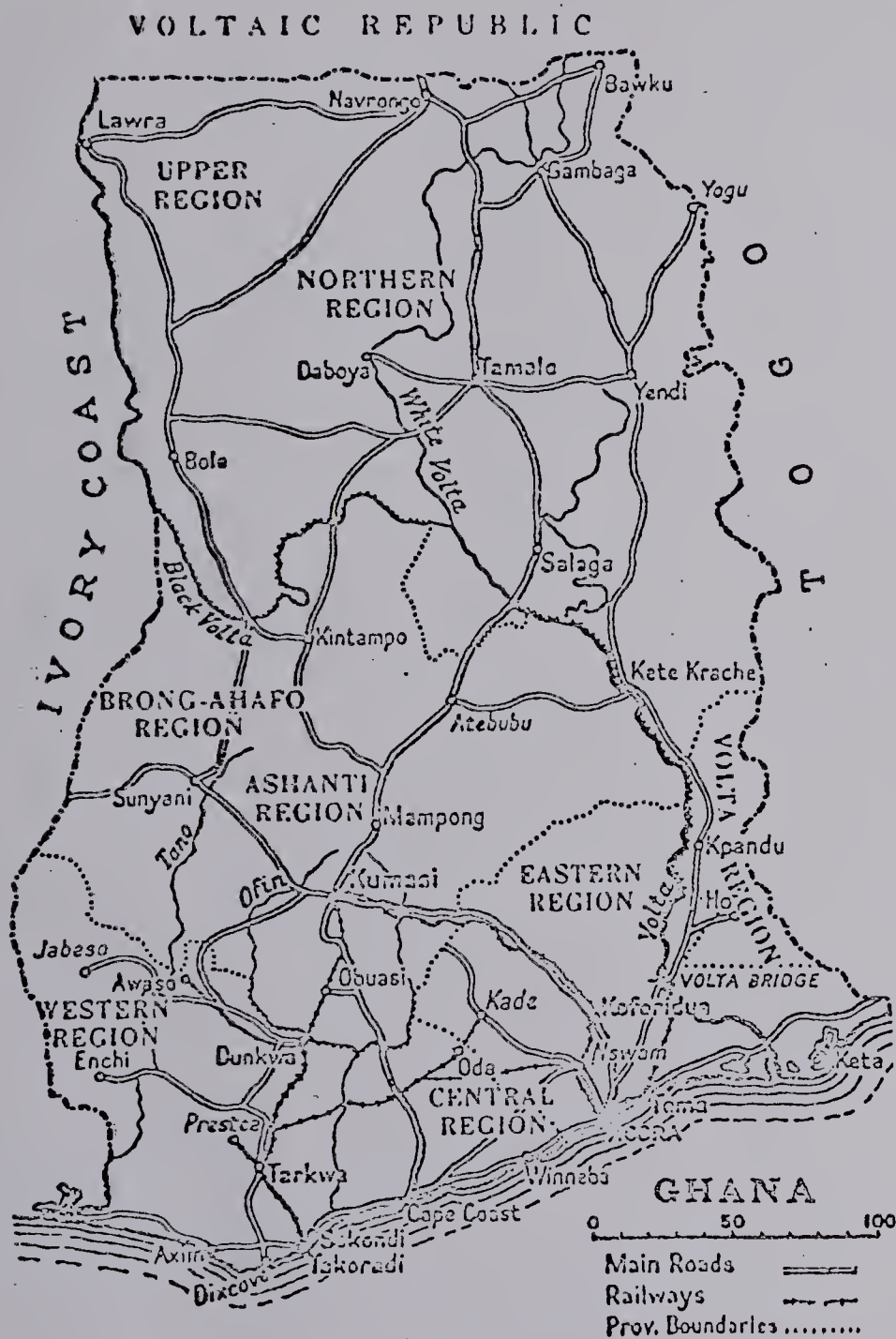
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE - PAST AND PRESENT  
of persons aged 6 and over



Source: Ghana: 1960 Population Census of Ghana, Atlas of Population Characteristics, Survey of Ghana and Census Office, Accra, 1964 p. 19.



## APPENDIX IV

MAP OF GHANA SHOWING ADMINISTRATIVE  
REGIONS AND CHIEF TOWNS

















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